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September 1930

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WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

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WORLD UNITY

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A Monthly Magazine
for those who seek the world outlook

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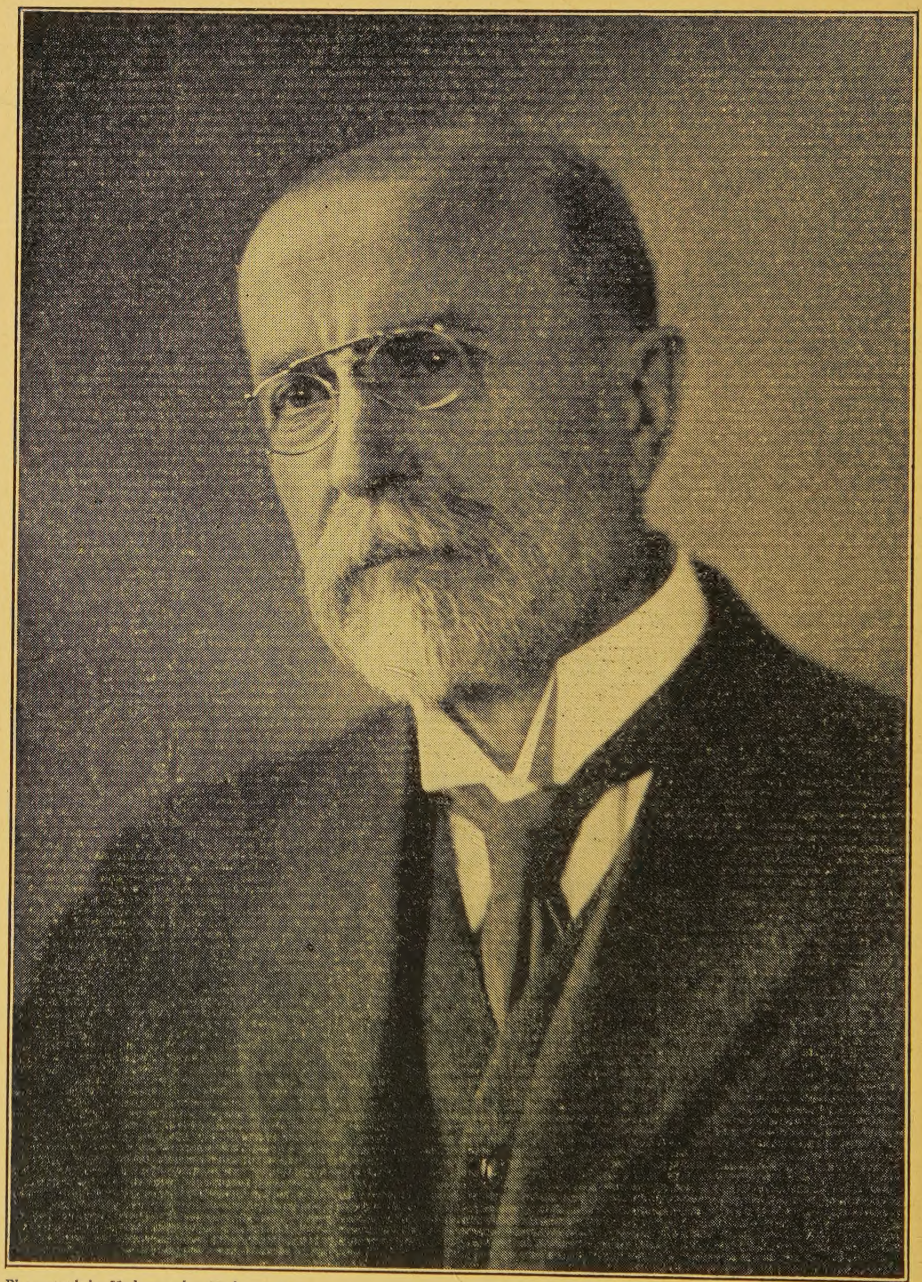

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THOMAS GARIGUE MASARYK
Apostle of World Unity

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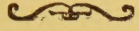
EDITORIAL



THE MYSTERY OF VISION

LATE at night, during a vivid electrical storm, a man sat reading an intensely interesting book. Suddenly, with the blowing out of a fuse, the lamp flickered and went dark. Thought, suspended between two words, vainly tried to leap the unexpected gap. Focussed upon the page, his eyes still for a moment stared where the words had been, but the book had gone. In the dark, vision lost its power; his sight was as the sight of the blind.

Not alone in the power of the eye, but in light is the mystery of vision. Vision is from the eye to the light, and also from the light to the eye. Without light, the closed eye and the open eye are the same. Without light, vision turns to its substitute, imagination, as a blind man turns to the nearest one for help, even to a fool or a thief.

So too with the eye of the mind. In the world of reality, vision is fulfilled only through light. Truth is the form and substance of a world that has been created for man and is continuously sustained. This world may be denied, as the fish in the waters of Mammoth Cave may deny the sunlit heavens, but denial cannot destroy or annul. It is a world to which man has entrance and in which man has life, for the power of vision and the power of love are signs and proofs that a universe exists for man as nature exists for the mindless and loveless beast.

But as people taken to a strange place at night and left alone will create an image of the place from fear or hope, and the one with the most dominating thought will force his image upon the rest, so in the world of reality, where human beings stand alone under a darkened spiritual sky, the form and substance of that

world are an image the active mind makes for torment or repose. What the mind sees of its whole truth is that which comes within the little area of a candle shielded from storm.

What is our knowledge of human reality if in the same generation we seriously—even fanatically—uphold social ideals as mutually exclusive as communism and individualistic democracy, as Quakerism and Roman Catholicism, as scientific materialism and Christian Science, as Facism and the internationalism implied in a World Court? Not even is our history a matter of common agreement—we have history in terms of moral heroes, history in terms of economic determinism, history in terms of the Kingdom of God, history as the biological record of the will to survive; as many histories as there are shadows cast by the candle beset by the immense dark.

This is not reality. It does not correspond to that landscape which shows ever the same to any physical eye looking upon it from the same place in the light of day. It corresponds to the images which children summon up when they lie awake at night, staring up into the darkness and creating forms and beings that embody fancy or fear. Each of these social ideals projects a hope, a desire, a resentment, an aspiration or a determination upon the neutral dark from active sources within the mind. Because there is no light, we have no supreme standard of reality to control and direct so much spiritual power. It is imagination, believed in passionately even if it works against our obvious needs. Any myth that can impress itself upon a large group for several generations becomes impregnable except to wars and revolutions.

The struggle of this age is between mental and moral forces that should be allied but are divided because the eye of mind lacks light. We need more than candle-light—more than the half-truths of the sciences and the arts. We need a sun to illumine the whole of reality and give order to our disordered human powers. If light has ever come to man from the soul of a prophet, the first business of rational people is to pray for that light's return.

THE MODERN MUSLIM'S PROBLEM

From the Point of View of a Christian Theologian

by

JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM
Pacific School of Religion

CHRISTIANITY would not have been true to itself in the past—nor can it be in the present or in the future—without carrying the light it has received and the life it has experienced to "all the world." Yet in striving to fulfill this mission the church has never been sufficiently sensitive to one of its own principles to put itself in the place of the adherents of another faith and confront their situation when called upon to abandon their inherited form of belief.

Suppose yourself, for illustration, a reverent Buddhist or Hindu or Muhammedan, trained in a faith which has represented to you all that is sacred and pure and good, challenged by an alien religion which demands of you complete renunciation of that faith, with all that it has meant and means not only to yourself but to your forbears, your nation and your fellow religionists. No matter how pure and exalted, and even superior, the religion that asked you to renounce your own, you would find yourself hesitating as to your duty as well as your inclination. Many true men and women, confronted by such a choice and led, we may well believe, by the spirit of truth, have heroically and sacrificially cut themselves off from their ancestral religion and all the associations and endearments of race and family in order to embrace the new and better faith. Yet it would be wrong to judge others adversely who have felt that they could not do this and be true to themselves and their inherited faith. It is time—is it not?—that the Christian church gave more sympathetic

consideration to the situation of those whom it asks to give up their native faith for Christianity—in the light of the more comprehensive knowledge of religion which has been gained in recent years.

Let us try to apply this principle concretely in the case of the adherents of one of the great ethnic faiths which has hitherto been least responsive to the claims of Christianity.

The intelligent, educated, devout Muhammedan of today, brought into urgent contact with the new knowledge—scientific, philosophical, ethical—cannot but find himself in a peculiarly difficult position. Can he make his religion serve his higher needs? Or should he adopt Christianity as the only faith adjustable to the modern world? Or must he give up religion altogether? The modern Muslim is face to face with the problem of the spiritual resources of his faith. In many respects his problem is more acute and difficult than that of any other religionist, for the reason that his religion is more homogeneous, more accurately defined, more apparently inflexible than any other. The demands it makes upon his loyalty are such that his temptation is perhaps greatest to lapse into a blank skepticism or indifference toward religion itself which cannot but mean serious deterioration, moral and spiritual. Let us put ourself beside him as he stands confronting (1) the problem of his Sacred Book, (2) the problem of his prophet and (3) the problem of his conception of God, trying to discover if these can be adjusted (1) to modern knowledge and (2) to Christianity.[1]

I

Confronting his Sacred Book in the light of modern knowledge—what does the Muhammedan find? How will he understand and estimate it if he is honest and informed as well as devout?

If he knows anything of the literature of religion as a whole he cannot but recognize in reading the Quran that while it is one

[1] The present liberalizing tendency in Islam does not seem to be altogether unprecedented. "There has always been a liberal tradition in Islam though it often ran low and threatened to disappear" writes Theodore Morison. *International Review of Missions*, January 1928, p. 229.

of the most earnest and vital of all religious books it is the most markedly inconsistent combination of conviction and crudity, sincerity and self-deception, faith and credulity, righteousness and moral laxity, power and weakness, zeal and triviality, devotion and self-interest that religion ever produced.

The flaming torch which flares and fails and rekindles throughout its pages, burning into the soul of the reader, is *faith*. Whatever else is wanting, *belief* is here, in all its elemental might—whether or not it is such as can be justified at the court of reason. The believer is set over against the unbeliever in exaggerated but not unwarranted contrast. The objects of belief are of the simplest—primarily Allah and his prophet, secondarily the certainty of a judgment day, reward and punishment. These Muhammedan fundamentals are held before the mind with an insistent and passionate intensity which is too genuine to be ignored.

Yet when it comes to reasons in support of faith in Allah and his rule how inconclusive they are! "Signs" in nature—day and night, rain after drought, the fruitfulness of the earth—these beneficences of nature looked conclusive to the ignorant man of the Prophet's time but are they sufficient for the scientific mind of today? Challenges to belief, ringing and repeated, are here, but no adequate notice is paid to the obstacles which stand in the way of belief—experiences which seem to conflict with the principles and promises of the prophet. Weary repetitions, denunciations, warnings of the wrath to come, these are the burden of the Quran—and what a burden!—yet with here and there a piercing sentence that startles the conscience or stirs that conviction of the one God and duty to Him which lies deeply hidden in the universal heart of man.

How shall this unique religious book be understood, estimated, evaluated? Is it "a revelation from the Lord of all creatures"? Will its manifest defects admit of this? The principle of moral development—which is a key to the Bible—is of no avail here, for these sutras are all on practically the same level. There are indications of altered view-point but none of real advance

into larger insights and understanding of truth. The method of allegory offers no relief. Allegory, though it may serve as a legitimate method of edification, is manifestly of no worth as a key to the original meaning. The frequently repeated challenge of the Prophet: If this is not a revelation from God *match it*, is arresting, but not convincing. "Do they say he hath forged the Quran? Verily they believe not. Let them produce a discourse like unto it if they speak the truth." (LII)

Manifestly this is no book sent down as such by the Holy Spirit. Here are statements which are blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. Yet side by side with these are words that by their very self-attested character *are* from heaven, that are eternal and that make for human well-being in every age and land.

What then can the Muslim do with his Sacred Book? Certainly he can do no less—nor can the Christian—than to honor and cherish the truth and wisdom hidden like gold in this mass of dross and worthlessness and let the remainder sink into as much oblivion as can be found for it. Ultimately, it seems to me, he will do this—extract the gold and abandon the dross—in other words he will, virtually if not formally, evolve a purified and selected Quran.

Having done this, however, he cannot shut his eyes to the best in other religious literatures. The very *criteria* by which he recognizes the nobler and worthier parts of his own bible are those which he must by that very act recognize in other sacred literatures—especially in the Hebrew and Christian scriptures to which his own owes so much. This cannot but give him a new conception of Christianity and a new attitude toward it, as his own Sacred Book leads him by its defects as well as its merits on into larger truth. In other words he cannot but come to recognize that the Bible is a truer and more complete *revelation*.

II

What can the devout modern Muslim do with the Prophet?

Here again his problem is a difficult one. Conflicting traits plainly disclose themselves in the life and character of Muhammed,

however slight the knowledge of him may be. Human nature appears in this man in its most intense contradictions and inconsistencies; strength and weakness, humility and egotism, sincerity and deceptiveness, devotion and self-indulgence, nobility and littleness.

A prophet, then? Yes, truly a prophet—a sincere, intrepid, unhesitating, undiscouraged, persevering prophet, proclaiming his message in season and out of season.

But can he, though a prophet, be regarded as worthy to be the revered center of a great religion? Is he great enough to be to his followers what Jesus is to the Christian? However it may have appeared in the past—this would seem impossible in the future. The searchlight of history, of psychology, of character study, of ethics, is too searching and relentless to admit of this eminence—either moral or spiritual. It would be sacrilege to put into the mouth of the prophet of Islam such a declaration as: "He that hath seen me hath seen Allah."

III

As the modern-minded Muslim confronts the conception of God which his religion presents to him he will find it, in comparison with that of other faiths and fellowships, greatly restricted—yet nevertheless adapted to expand to modern ideas and enlarged knowledge. The controlling Islamic conception—the Divine Unity—however rigidly and barrenly conceived by the Prophet, is in essence the central principle of all rational, spiritual and ethical religion. Once fairly grasped it can be amplified and revised indefinitely in its applications without destroying its original character and vital meaning. Islam may well go on proclaiming the message, "Allah is one Allah" to all the world in full confidence of its truth and of its unfailing adaptation to human need. It is as easy for our age to lose hold of this truth through intellectual self-sufficiency as for earlier ages to lose it through idolatry and superstition. Within Christianity itself tendencies to depart from it, in one direction and another, have been manifold and conspicuous of late.

The response which the message of the Divine Unity met, when it had once gotten under way, not only as a rebuke to idolatry but as an incentive to ethical and spiritual renovation, is an indication, if not an evidence, of its essential truth. It should never be forgotten that one of the main occasions for the rise and spread of Islam was the virtual *tritheism* which weakened Christian theology at the time.

Few chapters in the history of human thought are more tragic than the long, confused, bitterly controversial attempt of the Christian church to relate the revelation of divinity which it saw and felt in Jesus to the monotheism which it inherited from the Jewish church. The Nicene theology was a profound achievement in philosophical theology, but it was far too recondite not only for the rank and file of the Christian church but for its leading minds to hold intact and carry forward to its completion. Not even today has the real meaning of the doctrine of the Trinity permeated the thinking of the Church. It is easy to infer that this is a defect in the Christian religion itself. Rather is it a mark of its superiority. The fault was not in Christianity but with the church: (1) in the failure of its theologians already mentioned to maintain and advance the ground that had been won and (2) *in its failure to teach the people the simple and sufficient conception of God which underlies the doctrine of the Trinity, i.e. Divine Fatherhood.* As a result of this incompetence, accompanied by a corroding moral delinquency, the Christianity of Muhammed's day lay open to—perhaps we may say *needed*—the scourge of Islam breaking violently in upon its lethargy and lashing it with some of its own principles to which it had itself been untrue.

Now, however, the whole situation has changed. Christian theology is at length coming to realize that the central doctrine of God is not the *Trinity* but the *Divine Fatherhood* and that the doctrine of the Trinity is of value only as it clarifies and enhances the meaning of Divine Fatherhood.

The vital question at present is: *Has the Allah of Islam sufficient of the character and attributes of a Heavenly Father to continue to command intelligent worship?*

That is a question for those who have a more thorough knowledge of Islam than I to answer. But judging from the Quran itself, it seems to me that the Allah of the Muslim corresponds sufficiently to the Heavenly Father of the Christian to constitute a real bond of unity between the two faiths.

The pledge of this correspondence lies in the epithets attached to God which so dominate and humanize the Quran: "the Merciful" and "the Compassionate." It is true that the conception of the Divine Mercy is far from being universal or complete. It is explicitly guaranteed for believers and for them only. It certainly does not extend to the multitudes who are threatened with hell fire. Nevertheless, when the limitations of the period in which the Quran took form are taken into account, it means much that Allah is called "the Merciful" and that there is a sufficient idea of his patience and goodness to men to make Him, in some degree, Fatherly. "God is minded to make his religion light unto you; for man was created weak." "God loveth those who repent and those who are clean." "For God is merciful and gracious unto man." It is very significant also that the character and dealings of Allah are such as to prompt men to prayer—which is enjoined over and over again in the Quran. Indeed the *Fatiha* resembles the Lord's Prayer in so many ways that the Christian may use it with full acceptance, as far as it goes.

If it is true that the elements of Fatherhood are in the Allah of the Quran the elements of the trinitarian conception—transcendence and immanence—are by that very fact present also. Transcendence is of course the dominating, almost the sole attribute of Allah. He is a creative and governmental Sovereign of the most absolute kind. Creation is by fiat. "Whenever he saith to a thing, Be, it is." Everything that happens is by Divine command. This, however, is not fatalism, as is often alleged. Fatalism means control by an impersonal and implacable Fate. This is determinism—an absolute, thorough, uncompromising personal determinism which allows no place theoretically for human freedom. Yet before condemning it, it should be recalled—as has frequently been pointed out—that an almost complete parallel

is to be found in Christian theology. Wellnigh every statement regarding Divine Sovereignty in the Quran could be matched in the Calvinistic creeds and theological treatises. But fortunately in both cases there is the same saving inconsistency. Otherwise the whole system would in each case be nullified, for there could be no condemnation of evil nor approbation of good nor vindication of Divine justice without freedom.

"God was not disposed to treat them unjustly; but they dealt unjustly with their own souls." How reassuring it is to find such a sentence in the midst of assertions of quite the contrary sort! Thus do reason and common sense and ethical integrity get the better of well-intentioned but exaggerated reverence for a being who has no moral quality whatever.

Moreover in Islam—far more even than in Calvinism—there is not only a surreptitious concession to freedom but an open recognition of the presence of God in His world. The overwhelming pressure of Divine Transcendence is relieved, if not balanced, by an occasional perception of Immanence, or what corresponds to Immanence. This takes the form of Divine Omniscience and Omnipresence. "There falleth not a leaf but He knoweth it." "To God belongeth the East and the West; therefore, whithersoever ye turn yourself to pray, there is the face of God." "God goeth between a man and his heart." Such sayings touch the heart as well as illumine the mind.

It is true Islam does not perceive—as does Christianity—the truth, that the relation of God to His world is more than *nearness*. Nothing less than the term *in* is adequate for the relationship which God sustains to His universe and especially to His children in the Spirit. Yet so ultimate and reassuring a nearness as that described in the Quran, while approaching closely to immanence, at the same time avoids a pitfall—into which Christian as well as Oriental theology has often fallen—i.e. a pantheistic identification of God with His world.

We find ourselves, therefore, disposed to reaffirm that the conception of Divine Fatherhood and the elements of the trinitarian conception—the union of transcendence and immanence

—appear in Islam in sufficient degree to bridge the chasm which has too often been supposed to exist between the Christian and Islamic doctrines of God. This does not mean that they are in any sense identical or interchangeable or on the same level, but it does recognize a consanguinity which means much.[1]

It may even be possible to detect a nascent form of the Logos idea in Islamic theology. It is, to be sure, associated in orthodox Muslim theology with the Quran rather than with the prophet —for the character of Muhammed could never, as did that of Jesus, suggest the closeness of relation with the Logos involved in incarnation. Muhammed protests earnestly against Jesus being the Son of God, the reason, evidently, being that he failed to understand sonship in other than a physical and literal sense.

> The Jews say, Ezra is the son of God: and the Christians say, Christ is the son of God. This is their saying in their mouths: they imitate the saying of those who were unbelievers in former times. May God resist them. How are they infatuated! They take their priests and their monks for their lords, besides God, and Christ the son of Mary; although they are commanded to worship one God only: there is no God but he; far be that from him, which they associate with him! They seek to extinguish the light of God with their mouths; but God willeth no other than to perfect his light, although the infidels be averse thereto. It is he who hath sent his apostle with the direction, and true religion: that he may cause it to appear superior to every other religion; although the idolaters be averse thereto.

But can the equivalent, in any sense, of the Logos doctrine be applied to the Quran? Can it be said that the Logos was made —not flesh, but communicated word—in these sutras? Certainly, as has already been said, the Quran, as it is, is utterly unworthy of such elevation. Nor is the way in which it is said to have

[1]A very discerning discussion of this subject may be found in that recent book by Professor Livonium—the best treatment of the relation of Christianity to an alien faith that has appeared—*Moslem Mentality.*

been communicated compatible with such an idea. Nevertheless the truth *in* the Quran, "subsisting in the essence of God" (Al-Ghazzali), though wellnigh buried in a mass of inferior and often alien material may well be termed a divine revelation and as such at least a fragment of the Logos or Word of God.

While the Logos idea, therefore, is less conspicuous in Islam than in any other of the great ethnic faiths it is not by any means absent in this comparatively non-philosophical religion. How far it has been, or could be, related to the Shiah theology, Bahaism and the expectation of the Mahdi, is a problem which I am not prepared to discuss. *If the Logos is made the foundation principle of a universal religious philosophy culminating in Christianity there is quite enough to warrant including Islam among the faiths which suggest it and which it, in turn, illumines.*

In summary, then, it would seem that the modern-minded Muslim may find enough in the Quran, in the mission and message of the Prophet, and especially in the doctrinal conception of Allah to warrant him in holding his religion to be a genuine, though imperfect, embodiment of eternal truth and eternal life —i.e. of the Logos. But he cannot, with any exercise of breadth of vision, regard it as *the* faith, opposed and superior to all others. Nor can he, if he is true to the light that is in him and about him, fail to look for a faith that will both fulfill and correct his religion, which doubtless served a darker era but must needs be greatly modified and enlarged—in other words *Christianized* (in fact, if not in name)—in order to meet the wider ideas and ideals of the present age.

THE QURAN

by

MOULANA YAKUB HASAN

Reprinted from The Indian Review, Madras

THE religion of Islam is based on Kitab (the book) and Sunnat (the practice of the Prophet). Quran was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad in the course of 23 years. A sort of trance used to come over him and after it passed away, the Prophet used to send for one of his followers and make him write down the verses revealed to him just a little while ago, the Prophet himself not knowing how to read and write. The verses were also committed to memory by his followers and were being constantly recited in daily prayers. Some of the chapters in the Quran were revealed in their entirety at one time and in one trance, but other chapters have been made up of verses revealed in different times and at different places.

There are 114 chapters in the Quran, 86 of which were revealed at Mecca in the course of 13 years and the rest at Medina after the Prophet's *Hijrat* to that town till his death in 10 A. H. After his death, the first Khalifa, Hazrat Abu Bucker, sent for the collection which was in charge of one of the wives of the Prophet and had all the chapters copied by Zaid who was the principal scribe employed by the Prophet for writing down the revelations. By the time the third Khalifa, Hazrat Usman, was appointed to the office, Islam had spread over Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and a large part of Persia, and thousands of non-Arabs had also come within the fold of Islam. The Arab Muslims themselves spoke different dialects of Arabic which differed considerably from the pure Arabic of the Qureish of Mecca. Therefore, there were different readings of Quran by different people, and Khalifa Usman thought it advisable that an authorized version of Quran should be

issued and that all people should combine on it. For this great purpose, he appointed a committee, of which Zaid, the Prophet's principal scribe, was the central member. People were asked to appear before this committee and recite the verses they heard from the Prophet himself, and no verse was taken down unless at least two persons vouched for its authenticity. Thus every verse in the copy of the Quran compiled by the order of the first Khalifa was verified by at least two witnesses. Usman sent copies of this authorized edition to the heads of all the provinces under Muslim occupation, and ordered all other copies to be destroyed. The Quran that is now before the world is the very same that was written down at the time of each revelation, that was kept in the custody of the Prophet's wife, Hafsa, of which a copy was made by the order of the first Khalifa, which was verified by an authoritative committee and was finally published by the third Khalifa Usman.

It will thus be seen that the claim that Quran is purely the word of God, that there is not a word in the book that was not actually revealed to the Prophet in a peculiar manner, and that not a word that was revealed to the Prophet was omitted to be written in the book is founded on indisputable facts. Among all the holy books which form the record of the teachings of the founders of various religions, Quran is the only book which comprises only the direct revelations from God from the beginning to the end. Compare this with the Gospels of Jesus Christ, the immediate predecessor of Quran in the series of revealed books that commenced with the Torah of Moses, on which the religions of Christianity and Judaism are respectively founded. Jesus Christ's ministry was limited only to 3 years, and the few disciples, not more than a dozen, that he converted during his life time, were dispersed after the crucifixion. His life and teachings are recorded in the four Gospels in the New Testament of the Bible. These Gospels are called after the names of those who compiled them. The authors of the first and the last, St. Matthew and St. John, were two of the apostles of Christ, but the other two had not even seen the founder of Christianity. Their qualification to undertake this august task was that St. Mark was the nephew

of one of the apostles, St. Barnabas, whom and St. Paul he had attended on their first mission. He was not allowed by St. Paul to go with them on the second mission, but he was afterwards reconciled to him and joined him in Rome. St. Luke was probably a Gentile who had become a faithful companion of St. Paul. These two authors of the Gospels derived all the materials for their books second-hand, from St. Paul who was himself not a disciple of Christ but his bitterest enemy during his ministry. The four Gospels were composed by these compilers by themselves severally and not in collaboration. Inasmuch as the inspired teachings of an inspired prophet are recorded in them together with his life and doings, the Gospels find a place among the holy books, but they cannot claim to be revealed books in the same sense as the Quran.

The five books of Torah are said to have been written down by the Prophet Moses himself in the last days of his life. One of the writers who have compiled the "Helps to the Study of the Bible" published by the Oxford University Press says:—

> "This conclusion, however, does not oblige us to believe that Moses wrote every word of the Pentateuch, but that he was the original compiler from such documents as were then accessible. . . . The several books were enriched with numerous notes, archæological and explanatory, from the hands of later editors and revisers."

As the statutes and ordinances revealed to Moses and the legislative revelation vouchsafed directly to him form part of the book, together with the autobiographical account of his own life and its incidents, the Torah is no doubt a valuable record of sacred history and a remarkable code of moral and spiritual law, but it owes its inception not to one but to several brains and its compilation is the work of a generation of uninspired writers.

God says: "And we did not send any apostle but with the language of his people so that he might explain to them clearly." (Quran ch. 14–4.) Jesus Christ's ministry took place at a time when his country was under Roman subjugation and Latin was

the language of the culture that prevailed then in Palestine. Christ no doubt delivered God's message to his people, the Jews, in Hebrew, but the four Gospels were composed in Greek, not the Greek of the classical writers but a particular kind or growth called Judæao-Greek which was spoken by a large body of Jews in Palestine and Egypt. As literary composition, the Gospels possess no merit whatever and Moses' Torah, still less for the original old Hebrew, was from time to time replaced by later dialects in the several revisions that the book went through. In Quran, on the other hand, God delivered His message for the whole of mankind to Muhammad in the most highly polished Arabic with which Muhammad was familiar, and there was not a man among the Querish who prided on the purity and diction of their language, who spoke Arabic more eloquently than Muhammad did. The result is that Quran is a literary gem receiving additional importance owing to the fact that the whole of it was received from above. Quran as a literary composition held such a high place in Arabic that the renowned literary men of the time who were bitter opponents of the Prophet found themselves incompetent to produce anything like a chapter or even a few verses like the Quran when they were challenged by God to do so. The sublimity of the language, the variety of the composition of different chapters, the peculiarity of the style of this wonderful piece of literature played as great a part in winning over the most stubborn people to Islam as the convincibility of the arguments used, irresistibility of the appeal made to one's reason, and the thundering notes of threats held out to the unbelievers. Muhammad did not claim to perform miracles like those with which Moses and Jesus are credited, but Quran was held out to the people when a miracle was demanded and what could be a greater miracle than Quran considering that it was produced by an illiterate man who did not even have the society of the Jews and the Christians learned in their sacred literature.

Quran being the word of God and God alone is infallible and implicit belief in its truth is essential to be a true Muslim. It does not contain any thing that is unacceptable to reason and the moot

question of the conflict of religion and science does not affect Islam as it does Christianity. Quran claims that in it was brought to completion the religion which was first preached by Abraham, which was first codified by Moses, first sung by David in his Psalms, which first assumed the status of state-craft under the imperial Prophet Solomon, and became highly spiritualized by Jesus, "the Spirit of God." In testifying to the truth of Torah and the Gospel, Quran reproduces the sacred history from the story of the Creation to the crucifixion of Christ, with several corrections and modifications, completely eliminating the unnecessary details which disfigure and compromise the earlier books. The Commandments of the previous books have been revised, made easier, and perfected, in Quran and now form a complete moral, social and legal code. The world has no more need of an inspired teacher, and therefore, Muhammad was declared to have been the last message-bearer of God, and Quran, the last message, the final word that has replaced the earlier versions of God's one religion for the whole of humanity.

A WORLD COMMUNITY

The Supreme Task of the Twentieth Century

by

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL

A RELIGION FOR A WORLD COMMUNITY

WHAT part can organized religion be expected to play in establishing a world community? When we remember the ideals of goodwill and brotherly love that have been taught by all the great prophets of religion, regardless of age or clime, and the spirit of universality that has found expression in their lives and characters, it would seem as if religion should lead the way, enunciate the clear and all-compelling ideals, and create the dynamic spirit needed for the coming of a world community.

The chief function of religion has always been twofold: to create unity and direction in the inner life of the individual, and to establish unity in the collective life of man, in the life of society as a whole. The great prophets of religion have tried to show men how they might achieve unity in their personal lives through the subordination of all the other forces of their beings to the supreme principle of goodwill and love. But every great prophet has also dreamed his dream of a kingdom of God on earth, a universal human brotherhood, a coming world unity, in which society throughout should be governed and directed by the same principle of goodwill and brotherly love. And while every religion has to some degree succeeded in achieving the first great end of religion, that is, has created beautiful, noble, and unselfish individual lives, through its teachings, its disciplines, and its organizations, no religion as yet, nor all of them put together, have succeeded in achieving the second great end of

religion—the establishment of unity and goodwill in the life of society as a whole.

As we have already pointed out, the failure of religion thus far to achieve this second great end has not been the fault of religion as such; it has been due rather to the absence of certain pre-requisite conditions which were absolutely essential to the coming of anything even approximating world unity or human brotherhood or a Kingdom of God on earth. The new civilization through science and industrialism, has at last brought these necessary conditions into existence. We are living today in a world where all the peoples of the earth are in easy communication with one another, where we have come into a community of interests through the interdependence of all peoples, and where our new knowledge of one another, is fast breaking down the old barriers of ignorance and prejudice that have separated peoples in the past. Taken by themselves alone, these conditions would never bring in a world community; they might easily lead to the utter downfall and ruin of civilization through an ever increasing clash of nationalistic and imperialistic rivalries and jealousies. On the other hand, the existence of these conditions furnish today, as never before, the opportunity for the gradual building of a world community if we can but command the intelligence, the will and the spirit demanded for this supreme task.

In view of these facts, it would seem as if we had the right to look to religion and its leaders for the vision, the inspiration, the moral guidance, and the spiritual dynamic, that would send men forth to the task of building a world community, conquering and to conquer. The disappointing fact is, however, that the present religious situation, not only in Christendom but throughout the world, leaves us in grave doubt as to whether organized religion as it exists today does furnish any real light or moral guidance or spiritual power for that which is pre-eminently the supreme task of the twentieth century. For religion as it is today is divided against itself by a selfish and ruinous sectarianism, is absorbed by theological controversies and wranglings, is for the most part utterly oblivious that a new world with new demands

has come into existence, is far more concerned in preserving the past than in building the future, and is, therefore, shorn of power and influence in this modern world. The result is that few of the really intelligent people today, regardless of their personal feelings as to religion, take the church very seriously. There is a tacit assumption that whatever progress may be made toward a world community, little help is to be expected from organized religion; and it is the present condition of organized religion that has created the assumption.

The picture, however, may not be so dark as it is painted. A deeper study of the religious situation, in the light of history, reveals the fact that religion today is passing through an experience similar to many it has known in the past. The kind of religious revolution in which we are participating is by no means new. The history of religions, in fact, is the record of one great readjustment after another. Whenever a society has faced novel conditions, whenever its experience has been fundamentally altered, by migration, by contact with other cultures and ideas, by internal growth and development, its religious life has undergone just such transformations. The history of our own religious traditions in particular, of Judaism and Christianity, has been unusually rich in examples of adaptation to changed situations. Hardly a generation has gone by, save when Western society was fairly stable in the Dark Ages, that did not feel its faith disintegrating under the impact of new ideas and new conditions. There has never been a time when the conservatives did not view with alarm the abandonment of essential verities and the assimilation of alien ways of life and thought. There has never been a time when earnest leaders were not seeking to incorporate new ideas and new values into a tradition they felt to be out of touch with modern needs. And down to the present, everyone of these crises has been met and successfully faced. The adaptation was made, the reconstruction was carried through. There have been false steps, paths that had to be retraced; but ultimately, each age has managed to mould the materials of its past into a form that expressed its own needs and aspirations. What reason is there

to suppose that our own generation will be unable to continue this immemorial process of reconstruction?

It is possible to take the view, as many do, that modern science and industrialism are presenting to man a social experience so totally different from any that man has faced before, that it will inevitably destroy the very bases of the religious life. But it is also possible to take the view, in the light of history, that in time religion will once again readapt itself to the new truths and the new experiences, and we shall have a new expression of religion more in harmony with the modern world. The history of Christianity has been the history of generation after generation of great modernists, of assimilators, who incorporated in religion for their day new ideas and new moral ideals in the face of all the forces of tradition and fundamentalism. All the great theologians and philosophers of Christianity, all her great statesmen, all her moral prophets and leaders, were men who faced the problem of the readaptation of religion to changed intellectual, social and moral experiences.

The most fundamental contribution which modern science had made to religion has come through the social sciences. It is these that have taken religion out of the skies and enthroned it in the essential nature of man, and shown it as an integral part of human life. Thus they have removed the basis of religion from the region of mystery, which until recently has constituted the universe for man, and transferred it to man himself, where it is embedded in the very constitution of human nature. And no further discoveries of the natural sciences can ever again, as during the nineteenth century, disturb the sure foundations of religion.

It is clear from what has preceded that it is no longer a question of religion, or no religion, in man's life. In a far deeper sense than is sometimes realized, man is "incurably religious." Human nature has always demanded some religious expression; and though old gods crumble, it is incredible that this need should not persist. The vital question is, what kind of a religion shall man have? It is also clear that, from the beginning, religion

has constantly been changing, slowly passing from lower to higher forms with new social environments and the gradual widening and deepening of man's mental and moral experience. Generally speaking, the movement has been from crude, irrational, materialistic, unethical and individualistic conceptions and forms, toward more rational, spiritual, ethical and social expressions. What man's religion has been in any particular age or clime has depended in part on his leaders or prophets, but still more on how far along man himself has come in his mental and moral development. However lofty or universal has been the insight of the great prophet, his message has always been colored by the special needs of a particular people, and interpreted in terms of their more or less limited experience and knowledge. But just because religion is the normal outgrowth of human nature and an integral part of man's life, as an individual and as a member of society, not only will it always exist in some form; it will continue to grow and change as man changes and grows.

Let it be frankly admitted that religion today is passing through a transition period more searching and more deeply unsettling for traditional faiths than any similar period in the past, just because modern science has so completely revolutionized all our conceptions of the universe, of the nature of man, of human relations, and of religion itself; and also, because our industrial civilization has brought into man's life whole ranges of new experiences and new relations that had no existence whatever a century ago.

Let us not forget, however, that a transition is a movement toward what does not yet exist. No one can predict with any certainty the form religion will take in man's life tomorrow. We know only that great changes are taking place, that still greater changes are yet to come, and that it ill-behoves anyone to be dogmatic or over-confident in any statement as to the future. All we can hope to do, in the present limits of space, is to suggest briefly the trend of the changes that must come if organized religion is to play any real part in the building of a world com-

munity. If religion is to continue to live and grow in this twentieth century, then it must adapt itself to the new world-conditions along the following general lines:

1) *It must become universal in its outlook and spirit, rather than sectarian.* The sectarianism of present-day Christianity is in the opinion of many church leaders the chief "scandal" of our religion, as well as its greatest weakness. What present nationalisms are in international relations, sectarianism is in religion. It is in both instances the spirit of ignorant narrowness, of arrogant self-pride, of unsympathetic aloofness, of refusal to cooperate with others. And just as the separate nationalisms of the various political states are the great obstacles to the coming of any real internationalism, so the sectarianism of the churches is the great barrier to the coming of any real unifying religion. For what part can religion possibly play in a world that is setting its face more or less clearly in the direction of some kind of unity and cooperation in the life of mankind, unless religion is first of all able to achieve a real unity within itself? Sectarianism in religion, like nationalism in our political life, is an anachronism today. They both belong to a past that is gone. The stream of the world's life has left them both behind. It is our failure to see this that makes it possible for them to linger on into this new age that is so rapidly becoming world-conscious.

The modern movement for Christian unity is a little over a generation old. It grew out of a growing sense of the wastefulness and unchristian spirit of sectarianism; but in spite of committees and frequent conferences and beautifully worded resolutions, the movement as yet has achieved very few definite or concrete results, and Christianity still presents the picture of a house tragically divided against itself. The recent Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, for which such high hopes had been entertained, finally adjourned after doing exactly nothing beyond debating questions of theology and ecclesiastical order that have little vital meaning for this modern age, and appointing various committees to report at some later date. It is not impossible that such general discussions and conferences on the subject of Chris-

tian unity may help in creating the sentiment for such unity that will lead eventually to action. Thus far, however, the churches and their leaders, for the most part, are still dominated by their respective denominations and actuated by the spirit of sectarianism.

But, highly desirable as Christian unity would be, like patriotism, *Christian* unity does not go far enough in a world like ours. At the Lausanne Conference, the strongest appeal made by the leaders for Christian unity was "in order that Christianity might present a united front" to the other religions of the world. In the light of our new knowledge, it is rather late in the day and something of an impertinence thus to proclaim our Christianity as the only true religion to which all others must bow the knee. With the results of the study of comparative religions before us, and on a comparison of so-called Christian civilization with the so-called heathen civilizations, it is certainly open to question whether our religion is so much "better" than those it seeks to supplant. It is at least certain that for intelligent people the old line can no longer be drawn between our religion as the one wholly true, and all other religions as wholly false. Far greater than the need for Christian unity is the need today for a sense of *religious unity* that shall bind together in cooperative service men of all faiths in every land.

Through the translation of the Sacred Books of the East in the last century, and through living communion with the leaders of the great Oriental religions, Westerners have learned how to understand and appreciate those ancient faiths. The Parliament of Religions, held in connection with the Chicago World's Fair, brought to this country representatives of all the world's religions. It was a new experience in the religious life of humanity, an experience that made a profound impression on all who shared it. Since then the study of comparative religions has helped to break down the old barriers of ignorance and prejudice, and has revealed the close sympathy existing between the higher levels of all religions, past and present.

Men have discovered that while "religions are many, re-

ligion is one''—one not in beliefs, not in experiences embodied, not in forms elaborated with loving care, not in spiritual insights attained, not in ideals striven for, but one in deeply feeling and profoundly interpreting the significant moments of human life. We are coming to see that if Christianity has any real contributions to make to these other religions, they also have real contributions—moral values and spiritual insights—to make to Christianity. Thus we are learning to think of all the various faiths of mankind as but the differing languages through which man has been seeking to express, however imperfectly, his faith, his hope, his aspiration—seeking as best he might with the knowledge at his command, to relate himself intelligently to the universe of which he is a part, and to his fellows from whom he is divided.

It is a part of the intellectual challenge to religion today to differentiate between traditional myth and spiritual insight in all religions, that men may preserve the true insight wherever it may be found, and employ it in enriching and ennobling their own religious life. To see all religious beliefs as the metaphors of discourse, as the symbolic renderings of deep human experiences, frees one from the vain attempt to find a core of religious truth common to every historic faith. The experiences of men have varied from age to age and clime to clime, and even in the universal crises of all mankind—birth and love and death—men have felt with subtle but inescapable shades of difference. It is of the very nature of metaphor and poetry to be literally untranslatable into another tongue. The attempt to find a common prose for all this imaginative symbol leads to the blurring of that which should be kept distinct, the loss of the overtones so fraught with feeling. It is just because every form of the religious life enshrines something uniquely precious, something that could be expressed in no other way, that it is the part of wisdom to strive so far as possible to enter into that insight. A true understanding of religious faith makes sympathy and cooperation possible and indispensable, without leading to intellectual flabbiness.

It is as we gain this universal outlook in religion that we

lose the spirit of sectarianism; the old arrogance and selfish pride and foolish conceit gradually disappear, and in their place is born a deep consciousness of our moral and spiritual unity with all who strive and aspire toward the highest, regardless of their name or creed. This does not involve the surrender of anything that is precious or meaningful in one's own faith, nor does it mean the giving up of one's own religion; it is, least of all, uniformity either in belief or practice that we seek; it is something that goes far deeper than that. It is a feeling, a consciousness, born of understanding and appreciation, that underlying all differences of belief and organization, there is a real moral and spiritual unity binding all races and nations, all men and women into one great family on earth.

If our separate religions are to reach the high plane of real religion, then they must gain this universal outlook; they must lose their own littleness for the sake of the larger good; they must be willing to die to themselves in order that true religion may be born; they must be purged of every form of sectarianism that now keeps them from their fellows. Religion will play but a small part in the supreme task of the twentieth century unless it can leave all its old sectarianisms behind and adapt itself to the new world-outlook and catch religiously the universal spirit that is finding increasing expression. If organized religion could become possessed of this spirit and attain this outlook, how wondrously it might lead the way toward a world community!

2.) *In its intellectual expression religion must come into harmony with man's best philosophic and scientific thought of today.*

The inevitable conflict between traditional religion and the new influences of science and industrialism has divided the religious world into two opposing camps: on the one hand it has driven the less daring and more conservatively inclined back to the ramparts of a rigid orthodoxy, while the more adventurous have attempted through various forms of "liberalism" to mediate between the old and the new. But neither of these movements has proved satisfactory to the modern mind. Orthodoxy has turned its back deliberately upon the new knowledge and the

new experience in the desperate attempt to preserve the traditional religion at any cost. The various forms of "liberalism" have refused to face all the facts frankly and to follow them to their logical conclusions. These attempts to "reinterpret" traditional religion have been nothing more or less than half-way positions between the old and the new, mere compromises that might satisfy the more timid souls for a time, but that do not solve the religious problem for today.

That problem will never be solved until the liberal leaders are willing to face frankly and honestly all the new facts and conditions that science and industrialism have disclosed. There must be a thorough-going grappling with these new forces in modern life in their bearing upon the religious experience of man. There must be a complete reconstruction of religion, so far as that may be possible, without fear or evasion or compromise, in the light of all the new knowledge that has been gained and the new conditions under which man must live his life both individually and collectively. This task must be undertaken, not for the sake of belittling or destroying anything good or true that we have received from the past, but rather, in order to free religion from the traditional encumbrances that are today choking its life and paralyzing its influence.

According to Kirsopp Lake, the weakness of religion today lies in the fact that "the living dogmas of the dead have become the dead dogmas of the living." When the historic creeds of the church were first formulated they were living and dynamic things; they were the natural expression in terms of religion of man's knowledge and experience at that time; men were willing to live for them, and, if necessary, to die for them. But in this twentieth century the boundaries of man's knowledge in every field have been widened immeasurably over the knowledge of the third and fourth centuries when the creeds were born, and his social environment has become totally transformed. It is no evidence of a living faith that multitudes still repeat every Sunday these theological formulations of a far-away past, out of which for most people all meaning has fled; it is rather an evidence of a

slavish and parrot-like repetition of mere words. A living faith coupled with a genuine intelligence would dare to pierce beneath the outward husk of words which belongs to yesterday, not to today, and set free the eternal truth that lies imprisoned at the heart of every one of these old dogmas, in terms of today's thought and life. On its intellectual side, the demand today is for "a religion that will satisfy the soul of a saint without at the same time insulting the intelligence of the scholar." Only thus can an intellectually reconstructed religion, adapted to today's thought and life, play its true and fundamental part in interpreting and guiding these great new forces of the twentieth century in the direction of unity and cooperation.

3) *Religion must become increasingly ethical and social, rather than dogmatically theological and individualistic.*

It was in 1886 that Canon Freemantle of England published his epoch-making book entitled *The World the Subject of Redemption.* It set forth the view that the business of religion is not merely "to save" as many individual souls as possible, and see them through this wicked world to some distant heaven of bliss, but that its chief concern was to save this world—the world of political relations, of economic relations, of all that concerned the manifold life of man. The idea that religion had a social mission, that it had a message not only for the individual but for society as a whole, came almost as a revelation to the religious leaders of that day. Since then the conception of the social mission of Christianity has been taught more and more widely by men like Washington Gladden, Lyman Abbott, Walter Rauschenbusch, and other prophetic leaders in this country, as well as by many others abroad.

And yet it is safe to say that social Christianity has hardly as yet become popular in the rank and file of the churches. In spite of Jesus' dream of a kingdom of God on earth, in spite of the burning social messages of the Hebrew prophets that fill so large a part of our Old Testament, the individualistic conception of religion that has come down from the early Christian centuries, still dominates the thinking and the activities of the

vast majority of the churches of every name. Even among the younger ministers who have glimpsed the meaning of a social Christianity, there are few as yet who either dare, or are fitted, to deal with the problems involved in an intelligent and thoroughgoing way; and there are many more who admit frankly that their congregations would not stand for the preaching of a social religion from the pulpit. This is not to deny that there has been a tremendous increase in the social activities of most of the churches in their own particular communities. But in the larger sense demanded today, there are comparatively few ministers or churches that are grappling earnestly with the moral significance for humanity of such problems as nationalism, imperialism, pacifism, the revolution of capital and labor, etc. As a matter of fact, how many of the religious leaders are keenly conscious of the "new relations into which we have come on this planet," or how many are voicing prophetically the implications of these new relations for the world's life?

The critical problems and pressing needs that confront us insistently demand new ethical formulations and fresh insights. If organized religion is to live and grow it cannot ignore this challenge. It is not enough to believe that the Golden Rule can suffice to straighten out all the ethical tangles of a complex industrial society, or that the conceptions of justice enunciated by Hebrew prophets for a simple peasant folk twenty-five hundred years ago are calculated to furnish the intricate and detailed social guidance men are today struggling to work out. It is peculiarly the task of religion to furnish new moral inspiration. But we shall not discover it by reducing our moral heritage to a single element. We must draw upon all the wisdom that the past offers. Yet all the past affords is not enough. We must resolutely face the moral problems of today and work them out for ourselves; we can find no short-cut to their solution by turning back to an age forever gone.

We must work out an ethic that will teach us the wise use of the new powers industrialism has brought to our society. To abandon these material opportunities in disgust, as the sensitive

and spiritually minded are often tempted, is to leave them to the exploitation of the callous and the worldly. We cannot afford to flee the world and the flesh; we must endeavor to master them. The machine is making possible a gradual release from long hours of servile toil and the more irksome forms of labor; here are new opportunities of leisure presented for the development of the human spirit, provided intelligence is brought to bear upon their proper utilization. Still more imperative is an ethic that shall make man, whether employer or employee, the master rather than the slave of the machine, that shall lift him above the tyranny of mere things, and set him free to use these riches of industrialism to enhance human life, not to standardize and mechanize his every impulse.

To a degree unknown in simpler societies, the fortunes of civilization have come to depend upon the interactions of organized groups. Trade acts upon trade, class upon class, party upon party, church upon church, state upon state—all are caught up in a complex network of group relations. The very scale of such group action is unprecedented. This enormous increase in the variety and range of group activity is due to the coming of industrial organization into a democratic society, to the permeation of social groups by the democratic spirit. The individual moral agent is involved in a host of often conflicting groupings that determine his opportunities for action and regulate his life. But while democratic industrial society has thus multiplied the number and importance of group activities, it has failed to create the moral standards by which group relations may be ordered. In most cases, the actions of the individual are more consciously directed by ethical standards than are those of the groups in which he participates.

The profound challenge to religion is to create a morality for group action that shall not content itself with opportunistic self-seeking. Men must come to realize the consequences of group policies lightly undertaken, on themselves and on other men. They must bestow the same care in tracing out the effects of group action, and in choosing thoughtfully between alternatives, that

the more conscientious now spend on personal moral deliberation. They must explore the ideal possibilities resident in the activities of their groups and adjust them to each other and to the ends of other groups. The structure of social groupings is usually closely limited by material and economic conditions; but within those limits there is room for the formulation of a more adequate group pattern that will release the spiritual energies of man. Such a moral enterprise can hardly set itself any static structure, any fixed Utopia as a goal; but it can work toward the most fruitful cooperation of all groups in the achievement of a common purpose that shall mean the highest good of human society. In a truly civilized world, the morality of group activity would become the highest morality known to man. And it is this new morality that religion must search after and endeavor to consecrate.

In the new world which science and industrialism have created, the first demand is for new attitudes—the creation, in the place of our present provincialisms, of the international mind, the bringing to birth of a world-consciousness, more inclusive than our present nationalistic consciousness, the conception of a functional society in which our present divided political, economic, social and religious groups—competing and warring fragments of humanity—shall at length be brought together in a cooperative commonwealth of groups and nations. In the kind of world into which we have come, the spiritual principle must be, "all for each and each for all."

In a world setting its face more or less clearly toward some kind of unity in the life of races and nations that has not yet existed on this planet, that is seeking more or less blindly a way toward a kind of cooperation in the life of men and nations never known in the past, that is groping for a new understanding and appreciation of other peoples and races, religion must dare to challenge the nations, as nations, to rise to a higher level of morality in their relations with one another. It must hold before men the vision of a civilization that has subordinated the quarrelsome work of exploiting the material world to the cooperative labor of developing the spirit of man; that has made the material

values of riches and power serve to release the moral and spiritual values latent in human nature. It must impel men to seek to transform the nations into institutions for helping their citizens to live the good life in cooperation with all mankind.

Religion is marking time today because of the lack of a great objective with sufficient power to appeal to, and call forth, the very deepest personal devotion of the heart and mind and imagination of men and women. Building new churches, adding to their membership, taking part in all the varied activities of church life—Christian missions in their sectarian and evangelical form—how paltry seem these demands of religion as compared with the demands of the age that men everywhere should join hands in building the new world community. The great days for religion have always been the times that demanded great heroism, real sacrifices, unselfish service to great causes and untiring devotion to lofty ends. Religion must catch the vision of an objective great enough to match the greatness of this age if it is to furnish any real moral leadership to the twentieth century.

The End

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

A Guide to Peace

by

ERNEST LUDWIG

Hungarian Delegate to Peace Conference

FRANCE is not as a rule identified as an outspoken pacifist country, yet it has always been a battleground of adverse convictions and ideals and that is perhaps why certain of them have crystallized there better than in other countries. It is a case of diamond rubbing diamond with an increased brilliancy for both.

Side by side, nationalism and internationalism in France always boasted of great exponents. It is intense nationalism which inspired Poincaré to write: "In my school years, my thoughts, darkened by the defeat, incessantly crossed the boundaries which the treaty of Frankfort had imposed on us and when I descended from my metaphysical clouds I could see no other reason for the life of my generation than the hope to recover the lost provinces." (L'Université de Paris, October 1920 p. 4.) These words will seem beautiful to many, although one cannot help thinking that millions of good men and women in the countries which are today the victims of the treaties of Trianon, St. Germain and Versailles are inspired by similar thoughts. Yet, that very same France also can boast of a Jaurés, who once made the statement: "A little internationalism removes us from our country; much internationalism brings us back to it." These are equally fine words that should be memorized, although a good many nationalists may disapprove of them.

We live in an epoch when generals with a long and honorable war record behind them (General Percin: "Guerre à la guerre" Paris) and soldiers (Remarque) declare war on war and cool-

headed statesmen and reasoning business men all over the world follow in their footsteps and say: "Let us make an end of war!" That is what the pacifists say—aye, perhaps too often, because it is not the mere repetition of this formula which will abolish, or outlaw war, but our firm resolution to replace war by efficient instruments of peace, suited to settle international disputes without bloodshed.

I will at random name three men in three different countries who have lately done much for peace by pleading in favor of peaceful methods of international adjustment: Frank Kellogg, Viscount Cecil and Aristide Briand.

Mr. Kellogg, the successful sponsor of the multilateral anti-war treaty signed in Paris, and former American Secretary of State, in his inspiring address delivered before the World Alliance for International Friendship at New York (November, 1928), expressed himself as follows: "*The best way to abolish war as a means of settling international disputes is to extend the field of arbitration to cover all judicial questions*, to negotiate treaties applying the principles of conciliation to all questions which do not come within the scope of arbitration and to pledge all the nations of the world to condemn recourse to war." . . . He then referred to the fact that nineteen of the original Bryan arbitration treaties are still in force, among the signatories being included many of the principal nations of the world. As is well known, however, the United States has signed many new treaties of arbitration with South American countries for the settlement of all juridical questions and in this respect has undoubtedly outstripped Europe.

Mr. Kellogg very courteously reminded the world that the original suggestion of this movement which led to the Paris treaty came from Aristide Briand, former French Prime Minister and permanent Minister of Foreign Affairs, in a proposition to the United States: "To enter a bilateral treaty with France to abjure war as a means of settling disputes between them."

Viscount Cecil is no less outspoken in his encomium upon arbitration. In his address delivered before the League of Nations Union at Caxton Hall (October 21, 1927), he said amongst other

things: "*Of the expedients for the peaceful settlement of international disputes that have been tried, arbitration is undoubtedly the most successful.* . . . I doubt whether there is any instance of importance in which respectable nations declined to abide by an arbitral decision, and no sane man doubts that the parties to such arbitration have all of them been far better off than if they had gone to war. . . . *We take an immense responsibility, if we discourage international arbitration*, and I should have to be overwhelmingly convinced that acceptance of arbitration was a serious danger to this country before I could agree that we ought not to accept it. . . . *Nations, like individuals, must get into the habit of looking to law and not to war as the regular way of dealing with an international controversy.* . . . . We ought to consider the possibility of entering into arbitration treaties with various states for settling all disputes whatsoever without recourse to war."

These opinions of three outstanding statesmen of the world today are of the highest importance, all the more so, as all three of them are not mere sentimentalists, as so many of the pacifists unfortunately are, but men with legally trained minds and a broad vision of international affairs.

Perhaps of all arbitrated cases that which achieved the widest fame is the *Alabama* case. The Alabama was one of the cruisers which England armed during the American Civil War in support of the Southern states to destroy the sea trade of the Northern States. Five American and five English Commissioners were selected in 1871 and this commission drew up the terms of the Washington treaty, according to which the arbitrators should be five members appointed by the President of the United States, Queen of England, King of Italy, Emperor of Brazil and President of Switzerland. The treaty also fixed the rules of procedure concerning the duties of a neutral power in time of war, outlining how a neutral power must prevent the arming of ships to be used as cruisers against one of the belligerents and must prevent such armed cruisers from participating in the hostilities. From the moment when these rules had been incorporated in the compromise and this latter had been approved by the respective Parlia-

ment and Congress it was plain that Great Britain must be condemned and thus it happened that the Court sitting in Geneva, ordered England in 1872 to pay to the United States an indemnity of $15,000,000, with interest. This was a very stiff sentence for those days in which Sir Alexander Cockburn, the British arbitrator did not concur, but the sentence was nevertheless upheld by England whereby she greatly enhanced the prestige of arbitration.

Another famous case was that between England (Dominion of Canada) and the United States relating to the interpretation of the Washington treaty of 1846. The United States claimed that the boundary line should be drawn in the center of the canal of Rosarion. The Emperor of Germany acted as Chief Arbiter (October 1872).

There are several cases where territorial and boundary problems had to be arbitrated and they are important because of the possibility raised by them to apply arbitration for the redress of some rather manifest injustices of the recent peace treaties in which territorial questions are involved.

In 1878 the President of the United States arbitrated between Argentine and Paraguay, assigning to the latter country the territory between the Rio Verde and the principal ramifications of the river Pilcomayo. One very interesting case was that between France and Holland in Surinam and French Guiana where the Emperor of Russia decided that the river Awa must serve as boundary line.

There was a similar boundary case between England and Portugal decided in favor of Portugal in 1875. The territory of Tembe and Maputo and the Inyack islands situated at the Delagoa Bay were assigned to Portugal. This case is famous because in the compromise between the two countries it was prescribed that if the Court could not decide entirely for or against one of the two contentions raised by the litigating parties, it should hand down a decision which would represent an equitable solution of the difficulty according to the canons of international justice.

In 1890 Germany and England began a litigation regarding

the island of Lamu which is situated on the African coast, in the Sultanate of Zanzibar. This case was arbitrated in favor of England.

Arbitration After the War

The great war has thrown overboard a good many of the pre-war rules of international law, but it has not reduced the importance of arbitration. Quite the contrary, as can be seen from Articles 12 and 13 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which expressly prescribe arbitration as a peaceful means of adjusting disputes between nations, and guarantee the cooperation of the Council of the League in case of non-execution of an arbitral sentence.

More important even than these articles of the Covenant is the optional clause, consisting of Article 36 of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice which was adopted by a great number of the principal nations, with England leading among them. This clause pledges the nations who sign it to submit international legal disputes to judicial decision. These legal disputes concern: (a) the interpretation of treaties; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation. In signing this clause the signatories recognize as compulsory, *ipso facto*, and without special agreement, in relation to any other member or state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the said Permanent Court of International Justice. Last year when this optional clause came before the Assembly of the League of Nations several states made reservations in accepting it. They reserved the right that the clause should not be applicable to treaties signed in future, that the peace treaties of 1919–1920 should be exempted from arbitration under this clause, etc. Of course, a declaration made with such reservations has no real, practical value.

It is also true that in these past years it has sometimes hap-

pened that a case under litigation before arbitration courts was withdrawn from this jurisdiction upon representations made to the League of Nations (Council or Assembly) which then attempted to substitute the arbitral sentence of the Court with its own *obiter dicta*. This, of course, is a wrong procedure and should in no way be encouraged, because the Council of the League is a political forum and arbitration is a judicial procedure before a court of international law. It does not help the prestige of the League of Nations to interfere in a judicial litigation pending before a court of law. However, these are incidents of transient importance and every lesson brings new experience.

Can the Scope of Arbitration Be Extended?

We have seen from the above that there have been arbitrations connected with boundary questions, although some will observe that these concerned mostly colonial possessions only, or else were limited to slight modifications of the boundary line. Yet, nobody can rightfully contend that a smaller rectification of the boundary line can be arbitrated, but a broader rectification of the boundaries may not. The question itself is a juridical question, provided that the compromise agreement signed between the two litigating parties shall clearly establish the scope and extent of the boundary rectification and also provided that this agreement was ratified by the respective Parliaments of the two countries.

The only difficulty is the acceptance of such a compromise between the two countries. Hence, what is necessary is to educate public opinion in these two, or more, respective countries where such questions must be arbitrated. In the times prior to the war international jurists such as Calvo, Geffcken and many others were afraid of extending the scope of arbitration. Bonfils styles those who wish to arbitrate all, or most of the disputes between nations, as visionaries, but Mr. Kellogg of America, Viscount Cecil of England, Monsieur Briand of France, Count Apponyi of Hungary, Senator Lafontaine of Belgium, and many others are such practical visionaries and it will be admitted by even the

most rabid nullificationists, who desire to narrow down the scope of arbitration, that it is more practical and more beneficial to mankind to desire to submit all outstanding disputes to arbitration, than to say that certain problems involving national honor and dignity cannot be arbitrated and must therefore be settled by the other alternative: war.

Just as for the settlement of so-called matters of honor between private citizens duels are now proscribed in almost every civilized country, such matters being either settled in court, or by private arbitration courts, just so *times are not very far away when no civilized nation will want so-called matters of national honor and dignity to be exempted from international arbitration courts, if thereby war can be averted and they will at least refrain from signing arbitration treaties with the national honor clause inserted in them. The life and happiness of many millions of people is in itself a greater thing than the very often inflated honor of a country. The honor of a country stands in the place of the honor of the millions of men, women and children inhabiting that country. Is that honor really vindicated, if a million or more men are killed in war? Our common sense rebels against such a notion. It signifies therefore real progressive civilization to extend the scope of arbitration for that will also signify a victory over our savage animal instincts which may still prompt us to go to war as a means to adjust matters of honor between nations.*

It is a thing greatly to be regretted that the authors of the League covenant insisted on linking the peace treaties with the Covenant of the League of Nations because had the two been separated the machinery of the League of Nations could be with fullest freedom utilized in behalf of arbitrating certain mistakes and injustices of the peace treaties. As it is, the Covenant of the League sanctions them (see Art. 10 and others) and it seems therefore that in invoking the machinery of the League in behalf of a peaceful arbitration of disputes, arising from the peace treaties, one is compelled to utilize it against itself. That is chiefly the reason why it is so difficult to obtain the sanction of the League of Nations for an extension of the scope of arbitration. It has cost tremendous struggles to obtain the approval of the

foregoing optional clause by a majority of the League members and it will be observed that many of them have only accepted the clause with reservations which practically invalidate their acceptance of the clause. It is nothing but a *beau geste* to the galleries, as if one wanted to say: "Look here, I am also on the bandwagon of international justice, provided of course that there is a little side exit for me to leave the wagon when I feel like it!"

We cannot see why reservations are necessary and it is evident that these reservations take the place of the pre-war "national honor and dignity" clauses in the arbitration treaties. The so-called problems involving national honor and dignity and all reservations to the above optional clause cease to be such problems the instant that the respective Parliaments of their own free will approve the signing of the preliminary compromise which precedes arbitration. This latter itself is merely the last step in this international procedure which moulds the national resolutions of the litigating countries into international legal shape. Two countries may disagree on the scope and extent of a territorial boundary rectification, although they both may feel that a peaceful adjustment of the obnoxious problem might be beneficial to both of them. They will, however, hesitate in accepting the responsibility for such an adjustment, howsoever beneficial it might be to their people.

What is to be done in such a dilemma? *The only thing that can be done is to give the arbitrators mandatory powers to proceed according to international law and either to sanction*—as in the case of the Delagoa Bay dispute—*one or the other claim, or else to decide according to the canons of international justice.* A territorial rectification between two neighboring countries is nothing but a partial revision of a peace treaty which caused the re-division of territory, and there can be no doubt that the most successful means of settling such a partial treaty revision is by extending the field of arbitration and including peace revision in it.

This is the most important world problem today, as directly, or indirectly, it affects every country.

APOSTLES OF WORLD UNITY

XXIII—THOMAS GARIGUE MASARYK

by

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK
Professor of Social Science, Centenary Junior College, Hackettstown, N. J.

ON MARCH 10, 1876, a young Czechoslovak received his doctor's degree from the University of Vienna. Before the group of his friends parted from him, he had them promise that they all would try to benefit their nation in their practical life and thus also humanity. It was rather a romantic youthful incident. However, under this colorful deed was a deep reality of the future, as subsequent events have shown. The young doctor who made this promise to his colleagues was Dr. Thomas Garigue Masaryk, now President of Czechoslovakia, whose career has been remarkable in all its aspects. Not only did Masaryk become a creator of his nation, but through his efforts and activity as a statesman the world also benefited.

In order to understand the philosophy and the activity of Masaryk, we must understand thoroughly not only his life but also his actions, which did not bring fruit until very recently. We must also understand from the outset the kind of nationalism and internationalism that Masaryk stands for. Masaryk stands for "world-wide understanding and a humanized civilization which releases the finer aspirations of mankind." Thus he is a patriot and also humanist. Differences between groups of people, viz., the nations, cannot be obliterated any more than between individuals. The whole progress of civilization has been away from a barren uniformity to a rich social complexity. But what Masaryk stands for is cultural internationalism. One of the greatest features which helped to make him great is the lack of sentimentalism. All these points were illustrated concretely when Masaryk came against these problems during the course of his rich life.

Masaryk was born on March 7, 1850, in the Moravian border-

town, Hodonin. His father came from the lowest social scale of that time—being a coachman on an imperial estate. The estate belonged to the imperial family—the House of Hapsburgs—who defeated the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1620, at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. The whole history of the centuries of Hapsburg rule is (until 1918), as a famous French historian (Ernest Denis) has written, a story of unkept vows and broken treaties. The new age of nationalism and democracy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries penetrated Austria very slowly, and though the national regeneration of the Czechs started earlier, the political awakening did not come until 1848. From that time on, Czech politics wavered between the demands for the granting of State rights to the Bohemian State, and a demand for the modification of Austria into a federation of peoples with equal rights. Meanwhile Bismarck defeated Austria in 1866. His diplomacy so managed that Austria, after her defeat, was put out of Germany without loss of territory and with only a trifling indemnity; he was thus considerate of the personal ambitions of Francis Joseph and secured Austria as a devoted ally. The Magyars became Germany's staunch supporters when they were won over by the remodelling of Austria into the dualistic Austria-Hungary in 1867. Thus the Austro-Hungarian Empire became but an apanage of the German Empire.

The Ausgleich of 1867 kept the external front of the Empire unchanged. Internally, however, it exasperated the subject nationalities because of the nationalistic policies of the ruling races. The oppression of minorities finally exhausted itself in the World War, when the internal and external revolution dismembered the Empire and constituted the new Succession States.

Masaryk was born and reared in this extremely bitter nationalistic environment. He was also most influential in the dismemberment of the Empire and in the formation of the new States.

Up to 1886 Masaryk lectured at the University of Prague and was recognized as an outstanding teacher and leader of public life. During that year, his activity brought on him a storm of

abuse from the nationalists and patriots of his country. The incident also showed Masaryk's stand on nationalism of the exaggerated type.

The Czech romantic nationalism of the times worshipped certain supposedly old manuscripts of Kralove Dvur and Zelena Hora. The manuscripts were simple forgeries destined to bolster up patriotism and nationalistic glory. On the surface the storm which broke out was a fight of philology, history, literature, and chemistry against nationalistic dilettantism. Masaryk challenged and disproved the authenticity of these famous Czech historical documents.

In reality, Masaryk's participation strengthened the slogans of his life-work: "Knowledge is Strength; Through Truth to Right; Nothing is Great which is not Truthful."

The Czech national leaders were irritated by Masaryk's directness and honesty. "Go to the devil, monstrous traitor," one of the patriotic newspapers screamed at Masaryk, who opposed exaggerated patriotic tirades—something very discouraging but truthful. The continuation of the attacks was even more bitter: "Don't you dare to use our sacred language and despoil it with your low spirit and poisoning breath. Go, join the enemy, whom you serve, forget that you are born of a Bohemian mother, that you walked on the Bohemian soil, because we exile you from our national body as a hideous branch. Go, run away from this sacred land, before it will open and swallow you." (Quoted from J. Herben, T. G. Masaryk, p. 82–83.)

The fundamental explanation of Masaryk's nationalism is that his conception of it was higher than that conceived by his contemporaries at that time. He did not hesitate to mention that general federalism—if cosmopolitanism is objected to—is the only sensible goal of humanity. Many objected to Masaryk's teaching that we can love our nation even if we see its mistakes; we must accept everything good from other nations and can thus love our nation without hating what is foreign. There is no reason to consider other nations insignificant in order to make our own stand out. Masaryk refused the philosophy of the Czech

history of Palacky and Havlicek, who thought that the Czech national life was exhausting itself in the struggle against German aggression. Masaryk's conception was positive, that is, to "work for progress," at the bequest of John Hus, the greatest moral hero of Bohemian history. Simply expressed, Masaryk was not a political nationalist, but an extreme cultural nationalist. Let me quote his philosophy from his "The Making of a State." It shows that his philosophical foundation did not change with his age: "Chauvinism is nowhere justified, least of all in our country. . . . Chauvinism, that is to say, political, religious, racial or class intolerance, has, as history proves, brought the downfall of all States. . . . We shall solve our own problem aright if we comprehend that the more humane we are the more national we shall be. The relationship between the nation and mankind, between nationality and internationality, between nationalism and humaneness of feeling is not that mankind as a whole and internationalism and humaneness are something apart from, against or above the nation and nationality, but that nations are the natural organs of mankind. . . . To a positive nationalism, one that seeks to raise a nation by intensive work, none can demur. Chauvinism, racial or national intolerance, not love of one's own people, is the foe of nations and of humanity. Love of one's own nation does not entail non-love of other nations." No more substantial and beautiful words could be written by any apostle of world unity.

The most productive years of Masaryk's life before the World War were from 1893–1900. The following books presented Masaryk's philosophy of the Czech nationalism and of the mission of this nation in Europe: "The Czech Question and Our Present Crisis" (1895); "Karel Havlicek" (1896); "The Social Question," "John Hus," "Our Renaissance" and "Our Reformation" (1899). "The Czech Question" and "Havlicek" became to be regarded as hand-books of the national program of the Czechs. The first says: "It is not easy to find a right and just formula, a national program, in which all the elements would be united—humanity, nationality, statehood, social reforms, progress—in

the spirit of unity." According to Masaryk, the Czech question was primarily a religious question. Palacky, the greatest Czech historian, had already recognized that whenever the Czechs had achieved victory, it had been won by moral factors, by strength of spirit and idea, and Masaryk took this recognition as a starting point, and sought to give moral expression to the national will to live. Masaryk found the underlying motive of Czech history in John Hus, his followers, and the Czech (Moravian) Brethren. In the historical events bearing upon religion, he saw the center of gravity of Czech history, and he regarded the Czech problem as being fundamentally religious—not religious in the ordinary sense of the word, but religious in the sense that religion is synonymous with morality and truth. He says: "What is needed is an inner renovation, without which there is no meaning in political liberty; what is needed is an active love for one's neighbor, without which there is no true patriotism; what is needed is to love, to seek and to defend the truth; what is needed is to establish public life upon the basis of morality and truth." Masaryk associated the Czech revival with the Reformation, and he desired humanitarian principles to govern present-day politics, and thus proceed in the traditions of the Czech Reformation. "If I say 'I am a Czech,' I must have a cultural program." If the Czech nation wanted to be free again it had to accept the moral teachings of Hus, Chelcicky, and Comenius, which were based on progress and free thinking, and not on violence. But notice also the following realistic view-point, which looks more forward than backward: "History is the real teacher of life and must be more to us than to others. It has been—but the main teacher of life is the present, life itself." This was a warning because more attention was paid by the Czech patriots to the past glory than to the present reality—that is, the reality before 1914.

The social program of Masaryk corresponded to that of humanitarianism. "The social question is not the question of only one class or caste, it is the question of all. The granting of universal suffrage as a concession to the pressure of the laboring classes is only a partial and negative solution of the problem. . . .

It is all very well to sing and preach about one's country, but one must keep to the concrete; for what does a humble Czech see in the poor hovel which to him is his country? What does he know of his Czech fatherland when his children are perishing morally and physically in an insufficient lodging? You must not go to such a person with patriotic phrases; give him a better lodging, and he will have a new horizon, he will have an entirely different national feeling than when he lives in unenvied poverty."

One of the most challenging features of Masaryk's teaching was his statement that the state is only one of the uniting forms of humanity; the value of such a state is measured by the cultural degree of the nation.

Masaryk had a chance to stand for his philosophy in the year 1899, when the most monstrous demonstrations were organized against him at home. On March 29th of that year there was found the murdered body of a young girl. The police became convinced that the deed occurred in some place other than that in which the body had been discovered, because no blood was found on the ground. Popular superstition accused a Jewish weakling, named Hilsner, of the murder, supposing that the murder was committed during the preceding Jewish holidays. Hilsner was sentenced to death without direct proofs, and Masaryk took an energetic stand against this superstitious popular opinion, pointing out the mistake of the Dreyfus affair in France. Enraged students prevented Masaryk's university lectures, and accused him of caring more for Jews than for his own nation. Thus nearly everybody opposed Masaryk at one period or other. The Catholic newspapers constantly called him a godless individual and a Freemason. Vienna authorities denounced him and delayed his assured promotion.

In 1900 Masaryk's followers had organized the Progressive Party in Bohemia. In 1907, and again in 1911, Masaryk was returned to Parliament by a Moravian constituency. It was during this period that he exposed the Austro-Hungarian intrigues against Serbia. Masaryk proved that Austrian diplomacy, particularly the Embassy in Belgrade, had offered false evidence in

the Friedjung-Vasitch trial, for he got possession of the documents and exposed them to the whole of Europe—and that the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aehrenthal, was systematically falsifying the records of the Ministry. Masaryk's fame spread throughout Europe. Aehrenthal had to resign and was succeeded by Berchtold. Fundamentally, Masaryk came to a conviction that the whole régime of the Monarchy was debased, and entered upon the period of his fundamental opposition to Austria-Hungary.

In 1913 one of the most important of Masaryk's works appeared—"Russia and Europe." It is one of the best books written on Russia and one of the few books which predicted a revolution. Masaryk considered Russian absolutism morally dangerous to society and state, the more so because it could not be changed by peaceful means. The Revolution was predicted four years before it exploded.

In 1914 Masaryk was 64 years old and there seemed no hope for the regeneration of the Czechoslovak nation.

From this point on we can follow Masaryk's work and philosophy from his "The Making of a State" and from his disciple Benes, "My War Memoirs." Both books present to us the highest practical achievement in history and political science by men who were experts in the theory, practice and philosophy of social sciences. They are practical books on international politics in the highest sense, because of the results that both statesmen have achieved.

The war came upon Masaryk unawares. It broke out while he was staying in Germany where he was a witness of German preparedness. He immediately resolved that, at that hour, his opposition to Austria must be transformed into action. "Yet no man strove harder than he to avert the catastrophe which he felt to be impending," says Henry Wickam Steed in his introduction to the Masaryk's memoirs. "He knew what suffering it would bring upon his own people, what course it would compel him to follow, and to what risks it would expose him—a lonely professor, past his sixtieth year, without pecuniary resources and an object of official hatred. Though he foresaw that his choice would lie

between exile and the gallows, he never wavered or flinched." He was convinced philosophically that Austria-Hungary was doomed. Then followed his revolutionary work which was a practical test of his philosophical ideas, which proved to be sound in 1918. Those who declared him a mere idealist were refuted.

The work of Masaryk during the war is a matter of record well known to the readers of current history.

The highest point of achievement of the Czechoslovak revolutionary propaganda was reached in Masaryk's war publication, "The New Europe." "The Czech Question" formulated the Czech problem as the problem of a small nation, and outlined its internal solution as a process of moral revival. Masaryk's activity projected this problem within a far broader framework, with reference to world events, and in the existence of such a nation he diagnosed the cause of international tension and danger. The latter book projects his philosophy for a new political organization of Europe, based upon the fundamental thesis that "nations are the natural organization of mankind." Because on the side of the Allies were found the principal democratic and civilized States, and their opponents—Prussia, Germany, Austria, Turkey—represented the obsolete, medieval monarchical States, the place of the Czechoslovaks was morally on the side of the democratic program of the Allies. Thus democracy is the antithesis of aristocracy and oligarchy. Democracy, equally with nationality and socialism, rests on humanitarian principles: no nation shall use another nation as an instrument for its own aims. That is the moral purport of the political principle of equality, of equal rights. The so-called small man, and likewise the small nation, are individualities with equal rights.

Note the following quotation, which is of the utmost importance if we want to call Masaryk an "Apostle of World Unity." "The principle of nationality stands alongside of the international (interstate) principle. . . . Between nationality and internationality there is no antagonism, on the contrary, agree-

ment: nations are the natural organs of humanity. Humanity is not supernational, it is the organization of individual nations. If, therefore, individual nations struggle for their independence and attempt to break up states of which they have heretofore been parts, that is not a fight against internationality and humanity, but a fight against aggressors, who misuse states for the purposes of levelling them and enforcing political uniformity. *Humanity does not tend to uniformity, but to unity;* it will be the liberation of nations which will make possible the organic association, the federation of nations, of Europe, and of all mankind. . . . This internationalism makes possible a division and organization of labor of the nations; not merely economic labor, but all cultural labor. Europe and humanity are becoming more unified. Internationalism is not impeded by small nations, as was proved even in this war" (Masaryk, The New Europe, p. 26–27).

The result of events was the success of Masaryk's cause and the establishment of the Czechoslovak State. However, Masaryk did not permit himself to turn oppressor and tyrannize over others, that is, the minorities of Czechoslovakia, a thing which has so often happened in the course of human history. For tolerance is an important part of Masaryk's religion and creed—tolerance and forgiveness. "Love of one's nation does not entail non-love for other nations," states the concluding chapter, "Democracy and Humanity," of Masaryk's memoirs. Furthermore, the history of the last twelve years shows that Masaryk has been making every effort to establish friendly relations with the neighboring states, for that seems to be the only way to maintain world peace. There is every reason to believe that the policy of kindness and friendliness and cooperation will perpetuate the peace which is so dear to Masaryk's heart.

In foreign policy, Masaryk has been instrumental in restoring, organizing, strengthening, by friendly methods, peaceful and cooperative relations between states. "Democratic foreign policy all around means peace and freedom." The reason that Czechoslovakia has been instrumental in raising loans to help restore the finances of Austria, Hungary, in cancelling some of Austria's

reparations debts, and in restoring trade and commerce between his country and her old-time masters, is that Masaryk considers states interdependent. "Nationally and internationally, the independence of a State is today only relative."

Thus Masaryk's personality stands out as one of the most important living statesmen for world peace and unity. His devotion to his conviction and to the high ideals, for which he stood oppression and persecution, and even staked his life, makes him a great international statesman who insists that the best way for any nation to survive and prosper is to live by the ideals of humanity. For him "humanity is not mere sentiment." Who follows then the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia as executed by Benes, understands the desire for a world policy. Mankind is a concrete, practical idea for Masaryk, an organization of nations, for there can be no internationalism without nationality, though above these structures stands humanity and world unity.

Czechoslovakia is troubled with the ever-rising European problem of dictatorship, a form of fascism. Frequent attacks have been made on Masaryk and Benes because of their consistent policy, "The Castle Policy," as it is called in Prague. One of the many-sided attacks insists that Masaryk's humanitarian doctrine has evolved as the weapon of the weak amid the circumstances of the modern era. The attacks have failed to move the conviction of the President. "Assuredly the small and the weak in the struggle against the great and strong will not straightway put their faith in iron but will see what can be done by reason and reasonable method. . . . We wished, and we wish truly to be human." This is a straightforward rejection of the policy of "blood and iron." He concludes his book with: "In our democratic Republic, freedom of conscience and toleration must not merely be codified but realized in every domain of public life."

Masaryk always pointed to Comenius, the last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren and the "Teacher of Nations," who taught that through education alone could the way of salvation be found. On his wanderings through Europe, Comenius proclaimed the ideal of ever-enduring peace, that is, of love and religious

toleration. In practice this effort meant love and devotion to one's own nation and language and at the same time love and charity towards all other nations. "Comenius himself provides a splendid example of how it is possible to harmonize nationality and international sentiment," says Masaryk.

Masaryk's right hand, Dr. E. Benes, who became one of the most progressive and successful post-war European diplomats, says in his "My War Memoirs": "We were successful in our struggle because we adjusted our movement to the scope of world events." He continues speaking about Masaryk: "Few nations have had the good fortune to be able at a decisive moment of their history to associate themselves unreservedly, with absolute confidence and certainty, with a leader who so unmistakably symbolized the ideals of the age and their great political, social, economic, and moral struggles, the ideals of the future, the traditions of the nation, and its immediate desires, and who at the same time was able so effectively to draw up a program of his political and spiritual intentions." (Benes, op. cit., p. 498–499.) With these words Benes acknowledges the leadership of Masaryk and his program and thus he also directs the foreign policy of his country. The kernel of the policy can be found in the introduction of Benes to his: "The Problems of New Europe" (in Czech): "Every policy and especially foreign policy, needs a stable philosophical basis, a stable and steady world-view, which gives to every move its ideal program and thus also certainty, productivity and goal, consciousness, moral strength and force. It gains confidence and recognition."

Long before Masaryk was called to become the captain of the Czechoslovak State, he was philosophically prepared for it as well as for his leadership as an apostle of world unity. Today he has outlived the majority of his contemporaries and walks alone on the high peaks of his old age, where his tall figure is sharply outlined against the evening sky glittering with rays of the setting sun.

YOUTH AND THE MODERN WORLD

Edited by

ISABELLA VAN METER

"Above and beyond all war and death is our deep yearning for the time when we shall be able to work side by side with the youth of the whole world."

During the crucial years since the European war, the youth of the world has been gathering its force as if for a supreme struggle with the militant, destructive past. Repudiating alike its inheritance of institutions, customs and ideals, the generation now assuming manhood and womanhood in East and West is gradually creating the substance of a different way of life, a new outlook, destined to form a new civilization. Viewed from the ranks of those molded by the past, this manifestation of youth has appeared one of the most tragic, misguided, even sinister of social phenomena, since its triumph must involve the overthrow of so much that mankind has done and been. The statement of youth itself, so far as youth has yet defined its own energies, experiences and directions, will tell a different story. In this department *World Unity Magazine* will publish from time to time brief articles expressing the outlook of youth, by youth itself, on those vital issues which are recurrent from age to age.

YOUTH AND THE CHURCH

by

ALFRED BENNIS JACOB
Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham, England

With memories of some half-dozen religious and international conferences still fresh in my mind, and a flood of new viewpoints modifying and rearranging the old, it is a difficult task to choose any one of the many fields of thought opened up and to call it the most important; harder still to organize the many impressions into coherent expression upon any subject. Clear in my memory, however, are the many excited discussions which gradually worked back into religion and there became entangled in its physical organization, the church. It is about these two ever-important subjects that I want to offer some ideas which seem to me to be significant.

In considering topics of long tradition and many varied

beliefs, it is often helpful to divorce ourselves from preconceived notions, and to attempt to think impartially and, as far as possible, with open and unprejudiced mind. Such an attitude is especially valuable in the large and complex subjects of the church and religion—subjects frequently of firm conviction and unwavering loyalty to previous beliefs. With open, searching mind, then, let us ask "What is the church of today? What is its influence upon mankind? What relation should it bear to individual lives?"

What is the church? Using the term to include all the chief religious systems, the church may be described as an institution which brings together groups of people for ceremonies intended to stimulate thought about a prophet or his message. The groups ordinarily comprise a minority who have felt a religious experience, and a majority who are, partially, at least, slaves of convention.

Because of long history, a remote connection with a prophet, and a present belief of its association with things unknowable to the lay mind, the church possesses a tremendous influence in the lives of the people. The influence is exerted through several channels—social, spiritual, political, historical, educational—in ways not usually obvious to the church-goer. Let us examine some of them.

Allowing for several exceptions, the church as a social institution is a means whereby people of one neighborhood, one general mode of living, and not dissimilar beliefs come together periodically to listen to the program which has been prepared, to meet their friends, to chat afterward about the topics of the day, and occasionally to participate in some activity of the group. There is a oneness about such a group, a feeling of a degree of unity in a common purpose, which is a step toward greater fellowship; on the other hand there is always a large number who attend as a matter of custom and play no further part in the social activity. This meeting of people in fellowship aside from business interests or daily routine is obviously a valuable office of the church; and their common activity is one means of continual new human contacts, extending even to the distant missionary or the

equally distant poverty-stricken members of one's own community.

The spiritual gifts of the church are three. First, it brings beauty into sordid lives. It gives opportunity for contact with inspiring architecture, uplifting music, beautiful thoughts. Into lives of selfish gain it brings the unselfish, outflowing examples of the several prophets. Into lives of hurry and noise it brings opportunity for quiet and harmony. Such influence is short and infrequent, yet for many it is the only contact with recognizable beauty.

A second spiritual gain is that which comes from service to others in the giving of time or money. The mite which drops into the collection plate, if given with a willing heart, reaps a spiritual reward, just as the selfish accumulation of material treasures invariably results in spiritual sacrifice. The most significant teaching of the church and the least heeded is just that—that the truest values of life are not stored up in banks—that the example of each of the great prophets was one of poverty. Yet the very magnificence of many church edifices nullifies their teaching of simplicity in material things—when, indeed, that teaching is given.

The third spiritual value lies in the meditative seeking for the great realities of life, in trying to realize God. This value the church cannot give. The individual must seek and find for himself. But the church often helps to find the way.

Of the political, educational, and historical activity of the church, perhaps the latter is the most important. It is revered because of the length of its history, and a question concerning what it *is* usually results in an answer concerning what it *has been*.

In the course of history the church gradually advanced from a guardianship of the spirit and through it, of the body, into a direct control of the physical lives of its members. It was to be expected; for the church, thought to be the instrument of God, naturally received the full confidence of all. It was the firm rock of society, the court of last appeal, the one certainty among many uncertainties. This impression continues in many places today.

The time has come when we must realize frankly that whatever its origin, the church is now a man-made, man-managed institution. The policies of the church are the policies of men; the decisions, decisions of men. The church is only sanctified as those who comprise it are sanctified. It dictates the truth only if its dictators are in possession of the truth.

In view of the deplorable fact that with few exceptions the church has sanctioned slavery, persecution, race distinction, wealth, war of member against member—*in clear opposition to the spirit of the teachings of its leaders*, but in accord with the trend of the times; in view of such a fact, is it not clear that we should know the church for what it now is, not for its primary purpose; should use it insofar as it is helpful, but for important decisions seek a higher authority? That authority might well be the first recorded teachings of the great leader himself.

The realization that the church is at base an institution subject to the vacillations of men, and to a certain extent influenced by men's material desires, has turned many against it so that they ignore even its many commendable functions. It has been depreciated as "the opiate of the people" because it has frequently sanctioned the injustices of the time and favored capitalistic interests, twisting its precepts into a semblance of harmony with its position.

Serious as this indictment is, we must also realize the possible ambiguity of all actions. Teaching oppressed, economically maltreated people the unimportance of material gains may be sympathetically emphasising a great and comforting truth, or it may be deliberately quieting the turbulent realization of a great unfairness by preaching soft words and hopes of future comfort beyond this transitory existence. But whatever the motive, there is need for those who distrust the church to recognize its good influence; and a greater responsibility for those inside the church not only to realize its shortcomings, but *to work definitely to overcome them*. Not only the Communist criticisms, but the growing atheist conviction, the large numbers outside of the church, the dissatisfaction of many inside the church—all hurl a tremendous

challenge at the feet of thinking people—a challenge which cannot be ignored nor avoided. Just as the dominant note of the World Congress of Youth for Peace was "Practical remedial measures *must* be specified!", so I urge that if the church is to be a spiritual force, the challenge must be accepted and the remedy must be *action*!

To what extent the church is now a spiritual force is best judged by the effect of that force upon men. That it has been of powerful influence in the past is true. But insofar as it affects the ordinary daily way of life of its members, it is not, I believe, of major importance. In contrast, and of far greater influence is that wide-spread, subtle menace, materialism, which affects the smallest and the greatest actions of men, which manifests itself in friendship, politics, education, and all divisions of life, for which men live, work and die; and through which they seek happiness. Be its successor what it may, the church is no longer the greatest spiritual force in the lives of men.

The signs of the times now seem to point on one hand to a world of material values and futile efforts toward happiness; on the other hand to a simple acceptance of the great truths taught by the thinkers of the centuries. It is in the latter way that inevitable spiritual growth will bring both inward harmony and international understanding. But growth can only occur when we not only choose the teacher who seems to transcend all others; when we not only accept and believe and spread his message; but when we also translate the truths of his teaching into the facts of our personal lives, spreading them to others by example. When the life of the spirit permeates human activity, church and work alike, true religion will have come into its own at last.

CLASSIFIED READING LIST OF BOOKS ON WORLD UNITY AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

HISTORY

GENERAL:

The New History, by J. H. Robinson. Macmillan.
The Outline of History, by H. G. Wells. Macmillan.
History and Social Intelligence, by H. E. Barnes. Knopf.
The Human Adventure, by Breasted and Robinson. Harpers.
The Stream of History, by G. Parsons. Scribners.
The Tendency of History, by H. Adams. Macmillan.
History of Mankind, by H. Webster. Heath.
World History, by E. Feuter. Harcourt.
A Short History of the World, by C. D. Burns. Payson & Clarke.
Modern World History, 1776–1926, by A. Flick. Knopf.
The Outline of Modern History, by E. M. Earle. Harpers.
The Modern World, by F. S. Marvin. Longmans Green.
The Living Past, by F. S. Marvin. Oxford Univ. Press.
The Century of Hope, by F. S. Marvin. Oxford Univ. Press.
Western Races and the World, by F. S. Marvin. Oxford Univ. Press.
The Mind in the Making, by J. H. Robinson. Harpers.
The Making of the Western Mind, by Stowell & Marvin. Doran.
The Origin of the World War, Sidney B. Fay. Macmillan.
Europe, by Count H. Keyserling. Harcourt.
Asia, A Short History, by H. N. Gowen. Little Brown.
Europe: A History of Ten Years, by R. L. Buell. Macmillan.
The Revolt of Asia, by Upton Close. Putnam.
Asia Reborn, by M. Harrison. Harpers.
The Soul of the East, by M. Ehrenpreis. Viking Press.
The Occident and the Orient, by V. Chirol. Chicago Univ. Press.
America and Europe, by Alfred Zimmern. Oxford Univ. Press.
World Diplomacy, by N. D. Harris. Houghton & Mifflin.
Europe and Africa, by N. D. Harris. Houghton & Mifflin.
Europe and the East, by N. D. Harris, Houghton & Mifflin.
New Governments of Central Europe, by M. W. Graham. Holt.
New Government of Eastern Europe, by M. W. Graham. Holt.
Race and History, by E. Pittard. Knopf.
The Protection of Minorities, by L. P. Mair. Macmillan.
Contemporary Politics in the Far East, by S. K. Hornbeck. Appleton.
The Ascent of Humanity, by Gerald Heard. Harcourt.
The Spiritual Interpretation of History, by Shailer Matthews. Harvard Univ. Press.
Tenth Year Book of the League of Nations. World Peace Foundation.

NATIONALISM:

Essays on Nationalism, by C. J. H. Hayes. Macmillan.
Nationality, Its Nature and Problems, by B. Joseph. Yale Univ. Press.

National Isolation and Illusion, by P. Belmont. Putnam.
Nationalism and Internationalism, by H. A. Gibbons. Stokes.
A History of Nationalism in the East, by Hans Kohn. Harcourt.

IMPERIALISM:

Imperialism, A Study, by J. A. Hobson. James Pott.
Imperialism and World Politics, by Parker Moon. Macmillan.
Imperialism and Civilization, by L. Woolf. Harcourt.
The White Man's Dilemma, by Nathaniel Peffer. John Day Co.
Empire to Commonwealth, by W. P. Hall. Holt.
Studies in American Imperialism (series). Vanguard Press.

CHINA:

China, A Nation in Evolution, by Paul Monroe. Macmillan.
China Yesterday and Today, by J. E. Johnson. H. W. Wilson.
China and England, by W. E. Soothill. Oxford Univ. Press.
The Soul of China, by R. Wilhelm. Harcourt.
Contemporary Thought of Japan and China, by K. Tsuchida. Knopf.
The Chinese System of Public Education, by P. W. Kuo. Columbia Univ. Press.
A History of Christian Missions in China, by K. S. Latourette. Houghton Mifflin.
The Development of China, by K. S. Latourette. Houghton Mifflin.
A Short History of Chinese Civilization, by R. Wilhelm. Viking Press.
The Chinese Revolution, by Arthur N. Holcombe. Harvard Univ. Press.
Making a New China, by No Yong Park. Stratford Press.
China's Millions, by Anna L. Strang. Coward McCann.
The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, by H. B. Morse. Longmans Green.
The Formation of the Chinese People, by Chi Li. Harvard Univ. Press.
The Problem of China, by B. Russell. Century.
China, Yesterday and Today, by E. T. Williams. Crowell.
China's Revolution from Inside, by R. Y. Lo. Abingdon Press.

INDIA:

Greater India, by Kalidas Nag. Greater India Society Bulletin.
India and Central Asia, by Dr. N. P. Chakrvarti. Gr. Ind. Soc. Bulletin.
Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan, by U. N. Ghoshal. Gr. Ind. Soc. Bulletin.
Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas, by C. F. Andrews. Macmillan.
Understanding India, by G. M. Williams. Coward-McCann.
India and the West, by F. S. Marvin. Longmans Green.
India Bond or Free, by Annie D. L. Besant. Putnam.
The Heart of India, by L. D. Barnett. Dutton.
The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age, by Romesh Dutt. Dutton.
England's Debt to India, by Lajput Rai. Huebsch.
India in Bondage, by J. T. Sunderland. Copeland.

JAPAN:

Japan in the World Today, by A. J. Brown. Revell.
Government of Japan, by K. Naokichi. Princeton Univ. Press.
Japan in the League of Nations, by M. Matsushita. Columbia Univ. Press.

AFRICA:

Empire and Commerce in Africa, by Leonard S. Woolf. Macmillan.
The Native Problem in Africa, by R. L. Buell. Macmillan.
African Studies, Harvard Univ. Press.
Africa, and some World Problems, by J. C. Smuts. Clarendon Press.
South Africa, Peoples, Places and Problems. Longmans Green.
The Last of Free Africa, by G. MacGroegh. Century.

RUSSIA:

A History of Russia, by George Vernadsky. Yale University Press.
Humanity Uprooted, by Maurice Hindus. Cape and Smith.
Soviet Russia, by W. N. Chamberlin. Little Brown.

ITALY:

A History of Italy, 1871–1915, by B. Croce. Oxford Univ. Press.
Italy, a Short History, by H. D. Sedgwick. Little Brown.
The Making of the Facisti State, by H. W. Schneider. Oxford Univ. Press.

FRANCE:

France, A Short History, by H. D. Sedgwick. Little Brown.
France, A Nation of Patriots, by C. J. H. Hayes. Columbia Univ. Press.
Paris, or The Future of War, by Captain Hart. Dutton.

SPAIN:

Spain, a Short History, by H. D. Sedgwick. Little, Brown.

LATIN AMERICA:

History of Latin America, by W. W. Sweet. Abingdon Press.
The New Map of South America, by Herbert Adams Gibbons. Century.

ENGLAND:

Great and Greater Britain, by J. E. Barker. Dutton.

THE UNITED STATES:

The United States and the Caribbean, by James, Norton and Moon. Chicago Univ. Press.

Conquest: America's Painless Imperialism, by John Carter. Harcourt.
America Comes of Age, a French Analysis, by Andre Siegfreid. Harcourt.
American Diplomacy in the Modern World, by A. Bullard. Univ. of Penn. Press.

MISCELLANEOUS:

The Nationalist Crusade in Syria, by E. P. MacCullum. Foreign Policy Association.
The People of Thibet, by Sir Charles Bell. Oxford Univ. Press.
The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia, by H. K. Norton. John Day.

EDUCATION

The History of Education, by Paul Monroe. Macmillan.
Education, by E. L. Thorndike. Macmillan.
Democracy and Education, by John Dewey. Macmillan.
New Schools for Old, by E. R. Dewey. Dutton.
New Schools in the Old World, by Washburne and Stearns. John Day.
Education as World-Building, by Thomas Davidson. Harvard Univ. Press.
Education for World Citizenship, by W. G. Carr. Stanford Univ. Press.
A Social Interpretation of Education, by J. K. Hart. Holt.
Education and Citizenship, by E. K. Graham. Univ. of N. Carolina Press.
Education and the Good Life, by B. Russell. Liveright.
The Meaning of a Liberal Education, by E. D. Martin. Norton.
Education for Citizenship, by J. C. Almack. Houghton Mifflin.
The Humanizing of Knowledge, by J. H. Robinson. Doran.
Education for a Changing Civilization, by W. H. Kilpatrick. Macmillan.
Moral Principles in Education, by John Dewey. Houghton Mifflin.
The Aims of Education and other Essays, by A. N. Whitehead. Macmillan.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

International Anarchy, by G. L. Dickinson. Century.
Introduction to World Politics, by Herbert Adams Gibbons. Century.
International Conciliation, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
The United States and the World Court, by P. C. Jessup. World Peace Foundation.
Social Psychology of International Conduct, by G. M. Stratton. Appleton.
International Relations, by R. L. Buell. Holt.
The Unity of the World, by G. Ferrero. Boni.
Uniting Europe, by William E. Rappard. Yale Univ. Press.
The United States of the World, by Oscar Newfang. Putnam.
The Twilight of Empire, by Scott Nearing. Vanguard Press.
The United States of Europe, by Paul Hutchinson. Willet, Clark & Colby.
The Growth of International Thought, by F. M. Stowell. Holt.
International Economic Relations, by John Donaldson. Longmans Green.
The International Community and the Right of War, by Don Luigi Sturzo. Allen & Unwin.

Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, by Charles E. Hughes. Princeton Univ. Press.
The Monroe Doctrine, by Dexter Perkins. Harvard Univ. Press.
The New World, ed. by Isaiah Bowman. World Book Co.
Freedom of the Seas, by Kenworthy and Young. Liveright.
International Arbitration from Athens to Locarno, by J. H. Ralston. Stanford Univ. P.
American Foreign Relations, by Charles P. Howland. Yale Univ. Press.
Political Handbook of the World, 1929. Yale Univ. Press.
International Arbitration and Procedure, by R. C. Morris. Yale Univ. Press.
The Washington Conference and After, by Y. Ichihashi. Stanford Univ. Press.
The League of Nations, by J. G. Bassett. Longmans Green.
Labor and Internationalism, by L. L. Lorwin. Macmillan.
Survey of International Affairs, by A. J. Taynbee. Oxford Univ. Press.
The Morals of Economic Internationalism, by J. A. Hobson. Houghton Mifflin.
Pan-Europa, by Condenhove-Kalergi. Knopf.
Latin America in World Politics, by J. F. Rippy. Knopf.
The Problem of the Pacific, by C. B. Fletcher. Holt.
Problems of the Pacific, by J. B. Condliffe. Univ. of Chicago Press.
Olives of Endless Age, by H. N. Brailsford. Harper.
Education and International Relations, by Daniel A. Prescott. Harvard Univ. Press.
Handbooks on International Relations, by G. Lowes Dickinson. Harcourt Brace.
1. *Patriotism and the Super-State.*
2. *Nationalism.*
3. *Diplomacy, New and Old.*

WAR AND PEACE

Newer Ideals of Peace, by Jane Addams. Macmillan.
To the Nations, by Paul Richard. Pond.
The Heart of the World, by Georges Duhamel. Century.
Projects in World Friendship, by J. Lobingier. Chicago Univ. Press.
The Promulgation of Universal Peace, by 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Baha'i Pub. Committee.
Must We Have War? by Fred B. Smith. Harpers.
Disarmament, by S. de Madariaga. Coward-McCann.
War as an Instrument of National Policy, by J. T. Shotwell. Harcourt.
The Ordeal of This Generation, by Gilbert Murray. Harpers.
Pacificism in the Modern World, by Devere Allen. Doubleday Doran.
Pan-American Peace Plans, by Charles E. Hughes. Yale Univ. Press.
Problems of Peace, by Geneva Institute of International Relations. Oxford Univ. Press.
Between War and Peace, by Florence B. Boeckel. Macmillan.
The Preservation of Peace, Ed. by Parker Moon. Columbia Univ. Press.
The Politics of Peace, by Charles E. Martin. Stanford Univ. Press.
Youth Looks at World Peace, by J. B. Matthews. American Committee, World Youth Peace Congress.
War Aims and Peace Ideals, by Brooke and Canby. Yale Univ. Press.

Peace or War, by J. M. Kenworthy. Liveright.
Falsehood in War Time, by Arthur Ponsonby. Dutton.
Ten Years of War and Peace, by Coolidge. Harvard Univ. Press.
Public Opinion in War and Peace, by Lowell. Harvard Univ. Press.
America and World Peace, by J. H. Clark. Holt.
Ways to Lasting Peace, by David S. Jordan. Bobbs-Merrill.
Why Men Fight, by Bertrand Russell. Century.
The Evolution of World Peace, Ed. by F. S. Marvin. Oxford Univ. Press.

NEW SOCIAL IDEALS

A World Community, by John Herman Randall. Stokes.
The Idea of Progress, by J. B. Bury. Macmillan.
Progress and History, Ed. by F. S. Marvin. Oxford Univ. Press.
The Idea of Progress, by W. R. Inge. Oxford Univ. Press.
Tolerance, by H. Van Loon. Boni & Liveright.
Science and Good Behavior, by H. M. Parshley. Bobbs-Merrill.
Society and Its Problems, by G. S. Dow. Crowell.
The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy, by G. D. H. Cole. Macmillan.
A New Economic Order, Ed. by Kirby Page. Harcourt.
Freedom in the Modern World, Ed. by H. M. Kallen. Coward-McCann.
Liberty in the Modern World, by G. B. Logan. Univ. of N. Carolina Press.
Roads to Social Peace, by E. A. Ross. Univ. of N. Carolina Press.
Youth and the New World, by R. P. Boas. Little Brown.
Frontiers of Hope, by H. M. Kallen. Liveright.
Christian and Jew, Ed. by I. Landman. Liveright.
Proposed Roads to Freedom, by B. Russell. Holt.
The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism, by Geo. B. Shaw. Brentano's.
Moral Adventure, by B. H. Streeter. Macmillan.
Our Changing Morals, Ed. by Frieda Kirchway. Boni.

ROUND TABLE

This issue concludes another semi-annual volume of the magazine. The complete list of contents published elsewhere in the present issue is concrete evidence of achievement that requires no comment. But beyond its specific contributions to the thought of the day, *World Unity* has created a definite outlook which represents more than the sum of all the articles it has been the editors' privilege to print.

That outlook is not a piece of property nor a mere literary invention. It is the confident hope and determined faith of quickened minds in all parts of the world. It is the sole tool of democracy facing for the first time the stupendous task of reconciling and ordering interests developed out of all the oppositions of past time. All those concerned with *World Unity* feel that the magazine is promoting an attitude as yet beyond the outposts of any public institution. Not otherwise could *World Unity* have enlisted the loyal interest and cooperation of its authors and readers.

It will be difficult to find space for the many valuable serial articles and individual contributions on hand for the coming year. Among these may be cited: "Elements of a World Culture," by various authors; "The Coming World Order," a symposium; "International Cooperation," by Manley O. Hudson; "Round the World Log of a Sociologist," by Herbert A. Miller; "China's Changing Culture," by Frank Rawlinson; "History of Religion," by Nathaniel Schmidt; "Leaves of the Greater Bible," by W. N. Guthrie; "Trends and Problems of Present Society," by Charles J. Bushnell; and "Essays in World Citizenship," by Carl A. Ross. Copies of a booklet describing editorial plans of *World Unity* will be sent readers on request.

No special prophetic gift is needed to forecast for 1930–1931 new international developments and problems driving home the value of access to material of the quality indicated above.

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